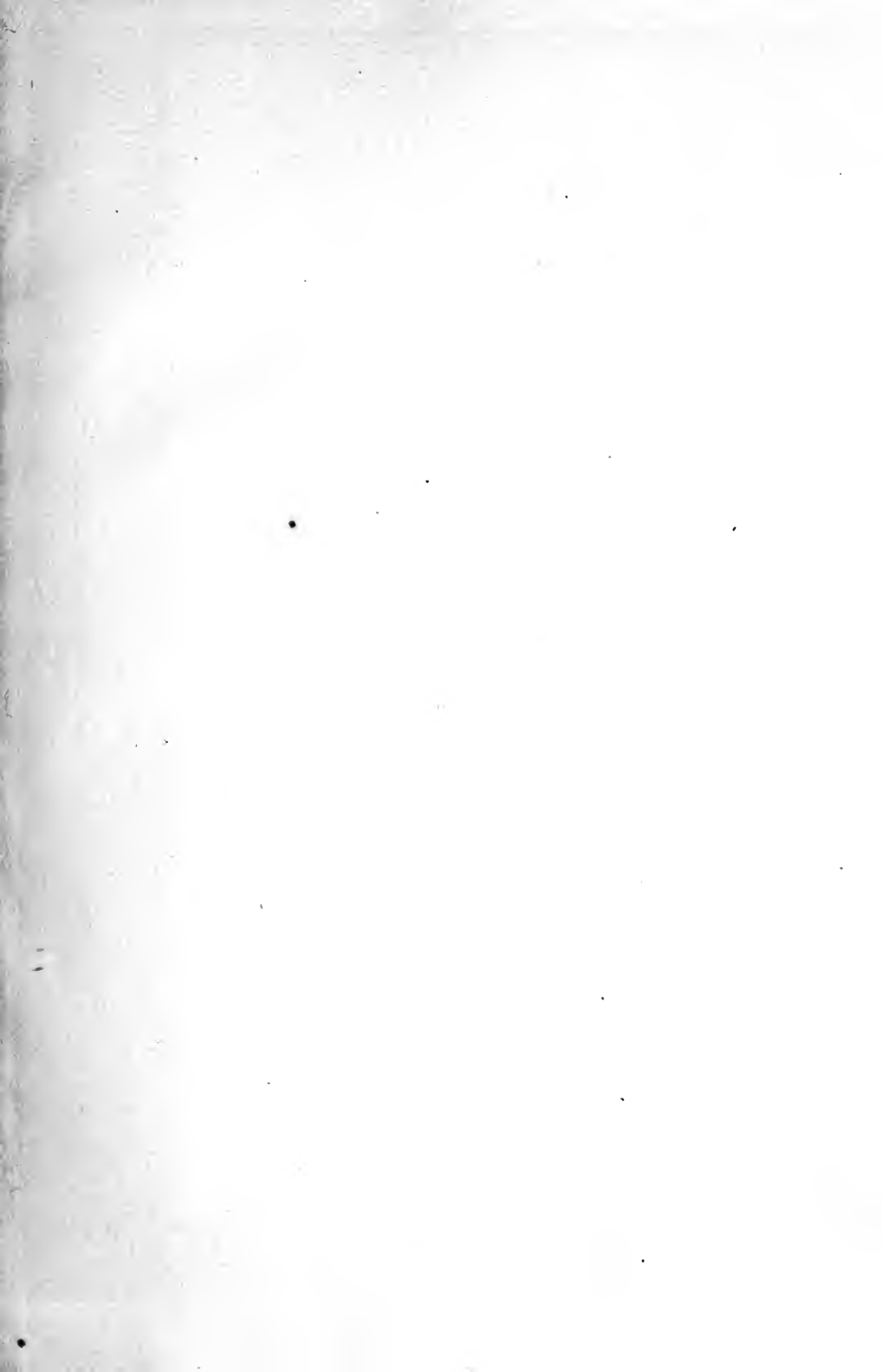


New York State Historical Association

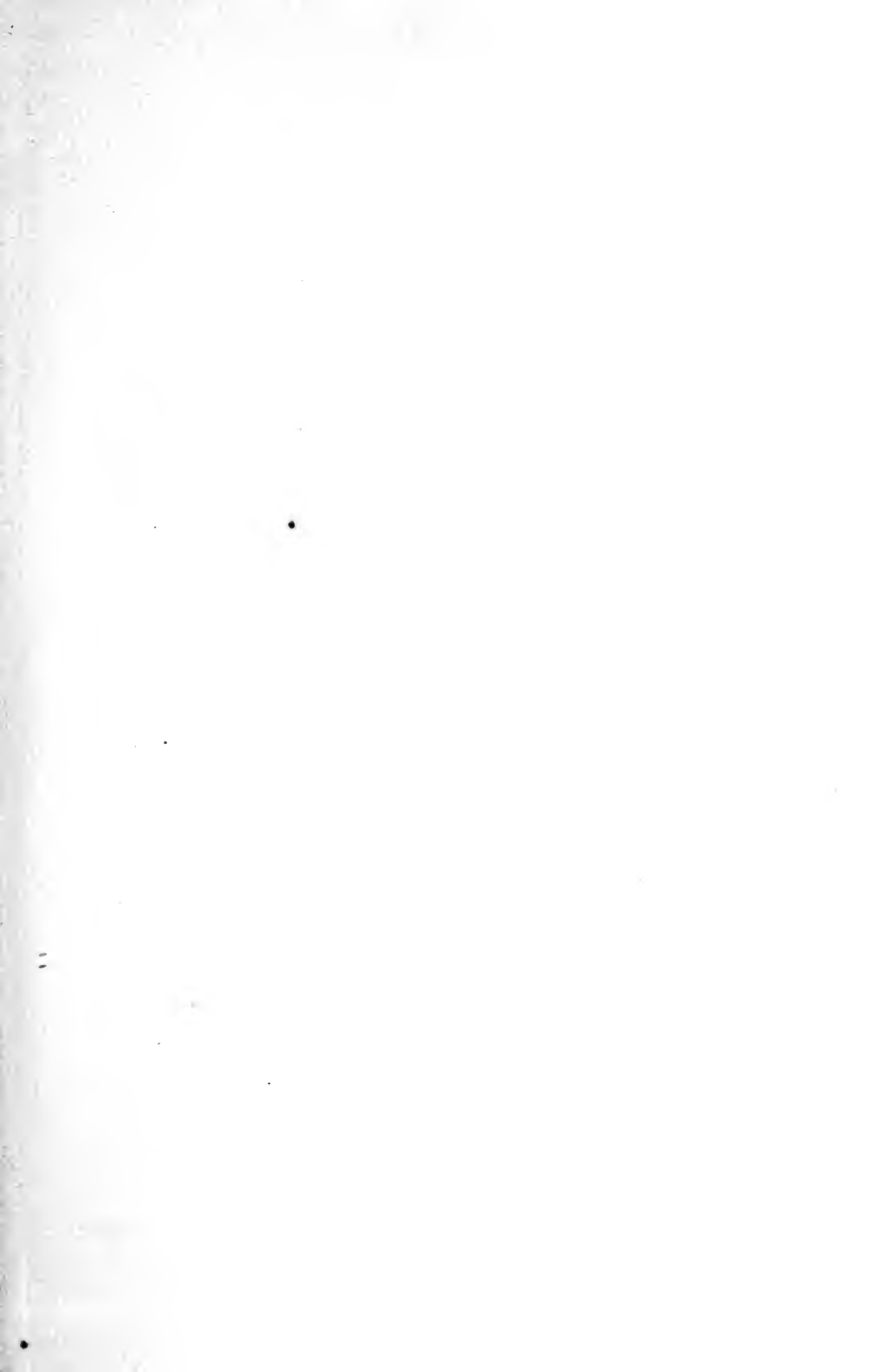
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL
MEETING WITH LIST OF MEMBERS . . .





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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, WITH
CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS AND
LIST OF MEMBERS.

VOL. IX.



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23/10/12

PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1910

GLENS FALLS PUBLISHING CO., PRINTERS.

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OFFICERS 1909

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL
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1910

Hon. James A. Roberts, LL. D.,	New York,	Term expires	1910
Miss Jane Meade Welch,	Buffalo,	“ “	1910
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Mr. Howard Pell,	New York,	“ “	1910
Gen. Henry E. Tremain,	New York,	“ “	1911
Mr. William Wait,	Kinderhook,	“ “	1911
Sherman Williams, Pd. D.,	Glens Falls,	“ “	1911
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Hon. DeAlva S. Alexander,	Buffalo,	“ “	1912
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Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe,	Hudson Falls,	“ “	1912
Hon. Charles F. Cantine,	Kingston,	“ “	1912
Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris,	New York,	“ “	1912
Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S.,	Mt. Vernon,	“ “	1912

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Eleventh Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical
Association, Held at the Public Library in Mount
Vernon, N. Y., October 19th and 20th.

Meeting called to order, October 19th, 10 A. M., by President
Hon. James A. Roberts.

Upon motion, the minutes of the preceding meeting were
adopted as published.

The annual report of the Treasurer was presented, accepted
and placed on file. The report was as follows:

Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1909.

To the Officers and Members of the New York State Historical As-
sociation:

Gentlemen:—

I take pleasure in presenting my annual report as Treasurer
of the Association for the year ending October 14, 1909.

This shows the receipts from dues, sale of books and all other
sources during the past year to have been \$977.28. We have dis-
bursed for printing, postage, express and general expenses \$700.68,
leaving a balance of cash on hand, of \$276.60.

There are on the books as possible assets, dues from members
for one year amounting to \$240.00, two years \$264.00, three years
\$36.00, and four years, \$8.00, or a total of possible assets of
\$824.60. So far as I know at the present time our only liability
is the balance due on the Lyon & Co.'s bill for printing the last
volume of the proceedings. This is \$300.40. Assuming the most
of the book dues are collectable, this bill can be taken care of be-
fore the first of the year. I have furnished the Acting Secretary
and Dr. Sherman Williams, who were made the Auditing Com-

mittee at the last meeting of the Association, with a list of the members who are back on their dues, and am waiting their suggestions as to what should be done with them. The most of the delinquents will undoubtedly pay up.

The Association is in much better shape than it ever has been, as we are more nearly out of debt, so far as printing the proceedings are concerned, than ever before within my recollection. During the last two years, through the active efforts of Secretary Bascom, whose untimely taking away we all deplore, the membership was greatly increased by his systematic work. There are in the neighborhood of six hundred members at the present time, and pursuing the method adopted by our late Secretary, it would seem an easy matter to raise the membership to one thousand. This would not only permit the publication of our proceedings along a more extensive scale, but would also allow our publishing manuscripts and books on historical topics, written by our members, which was one of the original purposes for which the Association was started.

It is with deep regret I find that business matters have so shaped themselves as to make it impossible for me to be present with the Association at this meeting.

With best wishes however for a most successful session, I would respectfully submit this as the official report called for by the By-Laws.

J. A. HOLDEN,
Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF J. A. HOLDEN, TREASURER NEW
YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, OCT. 14, 1909.

Receipts.

1908.

Oct. 8, Cash on hand.....	\$28.08
Received from Dues, etc., to date.....	949.20

\$977.28

Disbursements.

1908.

Oct. 31, W. O. Stillman, Expenses Albany..... \$29.06

1909.

Jan. 19, Postage—Statements..... 21.00

Jan. 19, G. F. Publishing Co..... 41.50

Jan. 19, Russell & Wait..... 8.65

Jan. 19, Brandow Printing Co..... 12.00

Jan. 28, Postage, Insurance—Bascom..... 29.05

Feb. 8, Postage, Insurance—Bascom..... 20.00

Feb. 8, Russell & Wait..... 4.00

Feb. 8, John Dwyer..... 11.00

Feb. 8, Postage..... 10.00

Feb. 8, G. F. Publishing Co..... 6.85

Feb. 26, T. S. Coolidge (Check Dep. by mistake) 5.00

Mar. 10, R. O. Bascom, Express, etc..... 36.85

Mar. 27, John Dwyer..... 21.00

May 6, R. O. Bascom, Express, etc..... 56.00

May 6, R. O. Bascom, Express, etc..... 34.02

May 6, G. F. Publishing Co..... 4.40

May 6, J. B. Lyons & Co..... 300.00

May 6, Postage, etc..... 7.74

May 6, Postage, Bascom..... 18.19

May 6, Postage..... 5.00

July 8, Insurance..... 3.75

Aug. 4, Bullard Press..... 5.00

Sept. 30, Postage—F. B. Richards..... 5.62

Oct. 6, Postage—F. B. Richards..... 5.00

\$700.68

Balance \$276.60

Assets.

1909.

Oct. 14, Cash on Hand..... \$276.60

Oct. 14, Dues back 1 year..... 240.00

Oct. 14, Dues back 2 years..... 264.00

Oct. 14, Dues back 3 years..... 36.00

Oct. 14, Dues back 4 years..... 8.00 \$824.60

Liabilities.

1909.

Oct. 14, Balance Lyon Printing Bill.....	\$300.40
Total Balance	\$524.20
Life Membership Fund.....	\$292.18
Interest July 1, '09.....	8.82
	----- \$301.00

J. A. HOLDEN,
Treasurer.

The report of the committee in charge of the Lake George Park was read and upon motion it was **RESOLVED**, that the action of the committee and their suggestions for future action be approved and indorsed. The report is as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the New York State Historical Association:

Gentlemen:—

At the last meeting of the Association, a committee consisting of Judge Ingalsbe, Elwyn Seelye and the Treasurer of the Association, were appointed to have full charge of all matters connected with the Lake George Battle Ground Park, and to act in connection with the State Comptroller in the management of the funds which might be apportioned for the care of the reservation. While your committee has not had any formal meetings, the business of the committee has been conducted by correspondence, and whatever has been done, has been with cognizance of the entire committee.

This whole park matter seems to have always been in a rather unsettled and unsatisfactory condition. As I understand the matter, in the year 1900, the legislature passed an Act known as Chapter 391 of the General Laws, providing for the acquiring and taking care of the land to commemorate the Battle of Lake George, and making an appropriation therefor. Under this Act the Comptroller was authorized to purchase twenty-five acres, including the place where the Battle of Lake George was fought in Warren County, at a price not exceeding \$14,000. He was also authorized to take measures to lay out, improve and care for the same as

a public park, at an expense not exceeding \$1,000, carefully preserving the fortifications and other historic features. The sum of \$15,000 was appropriated for the purposes of this Act, the Comptroller was placed in charge of the park, and authorized to appoint a custodian to take charge of the property, at an expense not to exceed \$250.00 per annum. This park covered from thirty-two to thirty-three acres. Subsequently the Dr. Dowling property (so called) on the old Military Road, was purchased at an expense of from six to seven thousand dollars. During the incumbency of Hon. W. J. Morgan, as Comptroller, he appointed this Association custodian under the Act referred to above, and the Association in turn appointed Elwyn Seelye of Lake George and Ithaca, and trustee of this Association, caretaker of the park.

While the Hon. Otto Kelsey was State Comptroller, a sum of money was appropriated by the state, and instead of being placed in the hands of the Association, it was given to a resident of Caldwell, Supervisor James Green, to expend, under the nominal direction of the Comptroller. Mr. Green at that time cleaned up the park by cutting down the brush, mowing the grass, and removing dirt, trees and branches, also by cutting a road through to the lake shore, making it more convenient to visit the ruins of the old fort. At this time a wooden pavilion for the use of picnic parties was erected on the bluff overlooking the lake on the westly side of the reservation. The \$1,500.00 appropriated at this time was not quite sufficient to meet the expense of building this structure and cleaning up the park, so that the legislature of 1907 appropriated \$208.00, which was the balance due for the repairing and erection of the building at the park in the year 1906. While the law explicitly gives to the Comptroller, the right to pay the custodian of the park \$250.00 a year, this Association has never received any money from the state, nor have we felt at liberty to go on and make repairs or do any cleaning up around the premises. On several occasions different officers of the Association have taken up the matter with the State Comptroller, first and always with the same result, that there were no funds available to make repairs or do anything to the park.

After the meeting last year at Albany, the Treasurer of the

Association saw the Comptroller, who agreed to act with him in all matters relating to the park. At that time it was understood by members of the Association, that there was a \$1,500.00 fund to the credit of the park, which could be used for the purposes hereinbefore outlined.

However, on Dec. 2nd Comptroller Glynn wrote to Dr. Stillman that the matter had been looked up and that no such fund existed.

It having been reported by the caretaker, Mr. Seelye, and by others at Lake George, that vandalism had been attempted at the statue erected by the Society of Colonial Wars, and attempts made to mar the base and statue by relic hunters, and also that walks about the park were necessary, at the suggestion of Mr. Seelye, your Treasurer, had drawn a bill (a copy of which is attached to and forms a part of this report) which on March 18th, was introduced in the legislature by Senator J. A. Emerson and Assemblyman W. R. Waddell of Warren County. Your Treasurer made a determined effort to push this bill through, and with the assistance of his colleagues on this committee and a number of the members of the Association, who are also members of the legislature, the bill was progressed through both houses, but was vetoed by Governor Hughes, on the plea that economy was necessary, and that this particular bill was not essential to the welfare or well-being of the state.

At this time I would say that the thanks of the Association are especially due to Attorney James McPhillips, then of Glens Falls, who drew up the bill for the Association, to the Hon. J. A. Emerson and Hon. W. R. Waddell, who did all in their power to pass the bill, and to the Hon. D. S. Alexander, Senator E. T. Brackett and Senator Henry W. Hill, for helping the matter along.

Among others to whom thanks are due are the following legislators: Hon. George S. Agnew, J. F. Allds, J. A. Frawley, Patrick Grady, P. H. McCarren, John L. O'Brian, W. J. Grattan, Geo. H. Whitney, James S. Parker, F. B. Thorn, and the following members of the Association: Rev. O. C. Auringer, Hon. Clark Bell, Rev. J. H. Brandow, E. Burt, Morris P. Ferris, Dr. W. O. Stillman, Col. J. T. Watson, E. J. West and Hon. J. A. Roberts.

If agreeable to the Association I would suggest that this com-

mittee be continued with power, and we will make another attempt to get from the state, the funds to do what is necessary at the park.

In this connection I would say that I have received a letter from Elmer J. West, calling attention to the fact that the Dowling road at the park, does not extend to the lake, which with the recent changes of the D. & H. would cut off entirely any approach to the state park from the side of the lake. Mr. West, however, with the benefit of the public and the Association in view, has reserved a right of way to the lake over the D. & H. Company's lines, so that when this Association is ready to complete the footpath, from the state lines to the lake, Mr. West stands ready to help the Association out. A vote of thanks by the Association to Mr. West, for his foresight, would not seem out of place.

At the request of Mr. Seelye the caretaker, I would make the following report: During the past year Mr. Seelye states that there has been considerable work done on the park, but only such work as was required to get the brush gathered up, the grass mowed, and give a general tidy appearance to the place. Mr. Seelye reports that several fires were started from cinders, supposed to come from the engines from the D. & H. R. R. They were however quickly extinguished without damage. The building called the Auditorium was opened each day during the summer months for the convenience of visitors. The building being always closed and locked at night. This is the first season since the Auditorium was erected that it has been of any practical use to the public.

Mr. Seelye reports that there is standing near a barn, a large pine tree badly decayed, which is liable at any time to fall and crush the barn. He is desirous of receiving some instructions from this Association, as to what should be done with this tree. As a member of the committee, I would suggest that Mr. Seelye as caretaker be authorized to have this tree taken down, if it can be done without expense to the Association. It is, as I understand it, permissible on state property to fell a dead tree, and use same for firewood, but it could not be sold or removed from the premises. The man who is living in the house on the reservation, could therefore use this tree for firewood, as I understand the law.

Mr. Seelye says that there are some needed repairs to the buildings of the park, which must be made in order that they may be preserved. I quote from the conclusion of his letter as follows: "You no doubt are well aware that it is important to keep a good responsible man constantly on the park. He must guard against fires which occur quite frequently, and also against various depredations from visitors frequenting the park. I wish to advise you that the only remuneration for this service is included in providing a suitable home for the man to reside in, and for this reason it seems advisable to keep the building in good repair."

A determined effort should be made by this Association to secure funds to place this park in such shape that it will be attractive to visitors. The various historic points should be designated by suitable markers, the park should be cleaned up, the buildings put in repair and painted, wherever such repairs are necessary. Like all matters of that sort the thing has slipped along uncared for and unlooked after, for the reason that no one knew just what our rights and position were in the matter. Our local status however having been clearly defined by the Law of 1900 quoted above, and by fact that we have been designated custodians over the park, there does not seem to be any good reason why we should not proceed to carry out, so far as we can, the trust imposed upon us by the state. And as this work cannot be performed without a suitable appropriation from the state, it is to be hoped that every member of the Association will lend his influence in getting such an appropriation through the coming session of the legislature, and in backing up the committee in its efforts to properly care for and look after this important historical site.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

For the Committee,

JAMES A. HOLDEN,
Treasurer.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

No. 1374.

Int. 1186.

Compliments of WILLIAM R. WADDELL, Member of Assembly.

IN ASSEMBLY,

March 18, 1909.

Introduced by MR. WADDELL—read once and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

AN ACT

To provide for the erection of a suitable iron fence around the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars on the Lake George battle ground park, owned by the state of New York, and for the construction of a suitable footpath from the Lake George beach to the said monument, and for the cleaning up of the paths and roads around the said park.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The New York State Historical Association is hereby authorized to erect a suitable iron fence around the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars on the Lake George Battle Ground Park, owned by the state of New York, and situated at Lake George, New York, and to construct a suitable footpath from the Lake George beach to the said monument, and to clean up the paths and roads around the said park, at an expense not to exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars. And the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the proper carrying out of the provision of this act, the same to be paid by the treasurer on a warrant of the comptroller on proper vouchers duly certified by the treasurer of said the New York State Historical Association.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

Upon motion it was resolved that a certified copy of the deed of the right of way from the Lake George Park to the Lake front across the Delaware & Hudson Company's lands be obtained and

filed with the Comptroller of the State of New York and that the Comptroller's attention be called to the reservation.

Upon motion it was resolved that the thanks of the Association be tendered to Mr. Elmer J. West for his thoughtfulness in regard to the welfare of the Society in his successful work in reserving the right of way from the state park across the D. & H. property to the Lake front.

The report of the committee on Historic Spots was read and placed on file. Upon motion it was resolved that the thanks of the Association be tendered to those who contributed to the fund for the completion of the work at Bloody Pond. The report is as follows:

Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct. 19, 1909.

To the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association:

Gentlemen:—

I report the completion of the work at Bloody Pond. We have purchased the pond and a strip of land around it and made a good road. The lot is fenced save on the side toward the highway which is left open so that people may drive around the pond. We have placed a bronze tablet next to the highway. The tablet was purchased and paid for sometime since. The other expenses are as follows:

Paid for lot.....	\$305.00
Paid for making road and moving boulder.....	314.50
Paid for posts for fence.....	15.45
Paid for wire for fencing.....	23.30
Paid for setting posts and making fence.....	33.25
Paid for setting tablet.....	7.20
Paid for photograph of tablet.....	2.00
Paid for recording deed.....	1.50
<hr/>	
Total payments.....	\$702.20

Subscriptions aggregating that amount were made by the following persons:

FROM LAKE GEORGE—George Owen Knapp, John B. Simpson, W. K. Bixby, Spencer Trask, Edward M. Shepard.

FROM GLENS FALLS—J. M. Coolidge, Thomas H. Foulds, B. B. Fowler, Byron Lapham, Patrick Moynehan, C. L. Wilmarth, H. H. Pruyn, W. W. D. Jeffers, R. A. Little, Daniel DeLong, James H. Bain, George F. Bayle, D. F. Keeffe, James H. Robinson, Charles E. Bullard, W. J. Hunt, J. L. Cunningham, George H. Leggett, S. W. Russell, J. W. Hunting, Fred G. Fielding, G. B. Greenslet, J. A. Kellogg, J. A. Holden, C. A. Stuppelbeen, E. W. West, M. B. Little, W. G. Marsh, A. B. Colvin, L. M. Brown, J. E. Sawyer, S. B. Goodman, Dennis McLaughlin, John DeLong, H. A. Howard, Eugene L. Ashley, E. F. Irish, W. Leavens, W. Irving Griffing, C. L. Rockwell, C. W. Cool, C. J. DeLong, Charles Wilson, G. B. McIntosh, Wilson, Root & Co., George Tait, George W. Little, F. B. Richards, Sherman Williams, N. R. Gourley, C. H. Carson, Bert Hibbard, H. P. King, Frank Shippey, Dr. S. J. Bowman, Minahan Bros.

FROM SANDY HILL—J. Jackson, W. J. Gallagher, Loren Allen, C. W. Kellogg, Preston Paris, J. E. Howland, John H. Derby, George M. Wiley, C. R. Paris, W. A. Huppuch, Grenville M. Ingalsbe.

FROM FORT EDWARD—R. O. Bascom.

FROM SARATOGA SPRINGS—Saratoga Chapter of Sons of the Revolution.

Respectfully submitted,

SHERMAN WILLIAMS.

The report of the Committee upon the Establishment of Closer Relations between the Historical Societies of the State was read and upon motion it was resolved that the report be accepted. It was also moved that the report be again presented at the afternoon session. The report was as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE.

To the New York State Historical Association:

At the Ninth Annual Meeting of this Association which was held in Buffalo, during September, 1907, a resolution was adopted that

the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of three to consider the establishment of closer relations between the various Historical Societies of the state. In accordance with this resolution, the President appointed a committee which made a brief report under date of October 12, 1908, at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Association, which was held in Albany. The report was adopted and a resolution was passed that the committee be continued with instructions to collect data from the various societies in accordance with the recommendations which were presented.

Under date of December 26, 1908, the Chairman of this Committee addressed a circular letter to thirty-one different societies in the State of New York. Replies were received very slowly and in some cases, it became necessary to write several times before securing the information desired. All told, only seventeen of the thirty-one societies responded. While the results accomplished were not wholly satisfactory, they were sufficient to illustrate the worth of this undertaking. Your committee is convinced that the proposed action in endeavoring to secure data for a "Directory" and "Bibliography" of the Historical Societies of the State is a matter of so much importance and intrinsic value that the work should be continued in the future. The limited amount of material secured as a result of this correspondence was published in the last Report of this Association at the end of the volume. We believe that it presents historical data which is best preserved in collective form and also think that there is no other way by which this can be so consistently and readily done as by this Association in its Annual Report.

In soliciting information from the different societies of the state, the data was classified as follows:

- I. Corporate name of Society or Association.
- II. Date of Incorporation.
- III. Date of Annual Meeting.
- IV. Officers for 1908-9.
- V. Membership of principal Committees for 1908-9.
- VI. Dates of important meetings during 1908, giving titles of addresses delivered, and of Papers read, with Authors' Names.

VII. Publications issued during 1908, giving full titles, with Authors' or Compilers' names, number and size of page.

Inasmuch as many of the organizations which are classed as "Historical Societies," in this state, are not sufficiently active to publish reports of their proceedings and of historical work actually done, your Committee believes that the inclusion of the information secured in the report of this Association is peculiarly valuable and desirable, as otherwise the personnel and work of local Historical Societies is liable not to be permanently preserved.

As we have pointed out in a previous report of this Committee a number of the local Historical Societies in the state were organized with special reference to the celebration of some particular historical event. Created thus for an ephemeral purpose these societies have too frequently entirely ceased active operations and have come to be in a state of suspended animation if not actually defunct. Not infrequently, officers of inactive societies await but a manifestation of outside interest in their affairs to stimulate them once more to begin organized work and to seek to accomplish the general purpose for which they were created.

Your Committee is inclined to the belief that this is a work which should be continued and extended, and that the cooperation of the officers of each Society throughout the State should be earnestly sought. We would also recommend that delegates be invited from each Society to attend our Annual Meetings for the purpose of presenting special data relating to their own societies and to discuss the question of how best to promote the growth of Historical study and stimulate historical research in this state. We believe that it would be wise to devote a limited amount of space in each report to short historical notices of active societies as well as a condensed statement of work actually performed by them during the previous year, whether in the way of celebrating special historical occurrences, of holding meetings at which addresses were delivered connected with work of each Society, or the publication of reports or literature by the Society. There seems an urgent need for collective, or rather cooperative, activity in this di

rection. This must necessarily result in preserving valuable historical data which, in many instances, would otherwise be lost.

The effect of this cooperative work on the part of the feeblers and weaker societies cannot fail to draw them into more active relations with their own work and allied activities elsewhere. We believe that anything that will stimulate an increased interest in archaeological research must also kindle more enthusiasm on the part of those concerned. New York State has had a large number of historical occurrences which have never been adequately recorded and presents a very rich field for the student of the past. We recommend that a committee be continued to carry on this work somewhat in the line with the recommendations already received, with such added suggestions or departures as may still further increase the usefulness of our Association in this very important direction.

September 28, 1909.

Presented by William O. Stillman in
behalf of the Committee.

GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,

WILLIAM O. STILLMAN,

IRVIN W. NEAR,

Committee.

The Report of the Committee was, on motion, adopted and the Committee was continued with instructions to solicit data from the various Historical Societies of the State similar to that published in the Report of the Association for 1908.

At the request of Dr. Sherman Williams, Judge Ingalsbe presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Educational Department is soon to be housed in a building especially planned for its work, and all the educational activities of the state, except that of the State Historian's office, are under the control of the Regents and when in the new educational building can co-operate to the best advantage,

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, that the State Historical Association recommend that the office of the State Historian be transferred to the control of the Board of Regents.

As there was to be a paper read during the session by Hon. Victor H. Paltsits which had some bearing on this resolution, it was moved that for the present it be laid on the table.

The following new members were elected:

- Baker, John W., Rochester, N. Y.
Beemer, James G., Yonkers.
Boxall, George H., 366 Plymouth Ave., Buffalo.
Bullard, Frederick H., Glens Falls.
Caldwell, Charles H., 160 Fifth Ave., New York.
Caldwell, Samuel Cushman, Box 56, Pelham, N. Y.
Call, Edward Payson, Larchmont Manor, N. Y.
Callan, Dr. Peter A., 35 W. 38th St., New York City.
Camp, Col. Walter B., Sacketts Harbor.
Cameron, Frederick W., 34 Elk St., Albany.
Cannon, James G., Scarsdale, N. Y.
Carman, Nelson G., 166 Montague St., Brooklyn.
Carmody, Frances, 64 Wall St., New York City.
Carmody, Thomas, Penn Yan.
Carpenter, Charles W., 504 Grand St., New York City.
Carrington, Augustus B., 200 Broadway, New York City.
Carroll, Fred Linus, Johnstown.
Carroll, Ralph Waldo, 50 Broadway, New York City.
Carvalho, Daniel N., 265 Broadway, New York City.
Carvalho, S. S., 238 William St., New York City.
Cass, Rev. James Michael, Willsboro.
Catlin, Henry W., 208 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Chase, George C., 174 Fulton St., New York City.
Chester, Hon. Alden, Albany.
Chrystie, T. Ludlow, 115 Broadway, New York City.
Clark, Walter A., 755 Main St., Geneva.
Clarke, Dr. John M., State House, Albany.
Clarkson, David A., 146 E. 71st St., New York City.
Clearland, Frank N., Canton, N. Y.
Clemans, Dr. Sylvester C., 20 Spring St., Gloversville.
Clemont, S. M., Marine Nat. Bank, Buffalo.
Clendenin, Rev. Dr. F. M., The Rectory, Westchester, N. Y. City.
Clinch, Hon. Edward S., 133 W. 121st St., New York City.
Clews, Henry, 15 Broad St., New York City.
Close, Dr. Stuart, 248 Hancock St., Brooklyn.
Cloyes, William O., U. S. Barge Office, New York City.

- Cochrane, Hon. Aaron, Hudson.
Coddington, Dr. G. H., Amenia.
Coddington, Rev. Dr. Herbert, 1006 Harrison St., Syracuse.
Coddington, Dr. Wellesley P., 100 Walnut Place, Syracuse.
Coffin, William Anderson, Jennerstown, Penn.
Coffin, C. H., 145 W. 58th St., New York City.
Cohn, Julius Hilbern, 277 Broadway, New York City.
Coit, Rev. Albert, 521 Columbus Ave., Syracuse.
Cogswell, William Brown, Syracuse.
Colcough, Rev. Joseph Hockney, 151 Second St., Deposit.
Cole, Peter B., Syracuse.
Cole, Dr. Charles K., 32 Rose St., New York City.
Cole, Fremont, 1 Madison Ave., New York City.
Collins, C. V., Troy.
Colson, Frederick D., N. Y. State Library, Albany.
Colton, Rt. Rev. Chas. R., 1025 Delaware Ave., Buffalo.
Colvin, Andrew, 280 Broadway, Manhattan.
Comstock, Hon. Anthony, Summit, N. J.
Conklin, Roland R., 1 Wall St., New York City.
Connor, Washington E., 31 Nassau St., New York City.
Conway, Patrick, 407 W. Seddes St., Syracuse.
Cook, Dr. Newton, Sandy Creek, Oswego Co.
Cook, Rev. Phillip, 240 E. 31st St., New York City.
Cooley, Dr. LeRoy C., 2 Reservoir Square, Poughkeepsie.
Coopernail, Dr. George P., Bedford.
Corbusier, Lt. Col. Wm. H., U. S. A., 612 Park Ave., Plainfield, N. J.
Cornell, Douglass, 1 Municipal Building, Buffalo.
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., 2111 Bancroft Place, Washington, D. C.
Cottrell, D. D., North Cohocton.
Cowen, Hon. Sidney J., 302 Broadway, New York City.
Cox, Frederick H., 10 Napier Place, Jamaica.
Cox, Rev. Henry M., 1451 Lexington Ave., New York City.
Cragg, Rev. Charles E., Northport, L. I.
Craig, Dr. Charles S., Hamlin, Monroe Co.
Crandall, Floyd M., 113 W. 95th St., New York City.
Crandall, William Henry, 8 So. Main St., Alfred, Alleghany Co.

- Crane, Frederick, Hotel Schuyler, 59 W. 45th St., N. Y. City.
Crane, Ralph Adams, Boston, Mass.
Crimmins, Hon. John D., 40 E. 68th St., New York City.
Crippen, Dr. C. J., Helena, Quebec, Can.
Crisp, W. Benton, 161 W. 79th St., New York City.
Cronkhite, Lt. Col. Adelbert, Governors Island.
Crapsey, Rev. Dr. Algernon S., 678 Averill Ave., Rochester.
Crosby, Col. John Schuyler, 206 W. 52nd St., New York City.
Crossett, Maj. Frederick M., 30 W. 33rd St., New York City.
Cross, Dr. Andrew J., 20 E. 23rd St., New York City.
Crothers, Rachel, 550 Park Ave., New York City.
Cruikshank, Frederick R., 1 Liberty St., New York City.
Cullinan, Hon. P. W., Oswego.
Curtis, Gen. Newton Martin, Ogdensburg.
Curtis, Hon. George M., 5 Beekman St., New York City.
Curtis, Benj. de Forest, 960 Park Ave., New York City.
Cutler, Hon. James G., Cutler Building, Rochester.
Cutting, Hon. Churchill Hunter, 247 President St., Brooklyn.
Cutting, Miss Elizabeth Brown, 247 President St., Brooklyn.
Dana, Marvin, The Westmoreland Hotel Landing, N. J.
Danforth, Dr. Loomis L., 49 West 52nd St., New York City.
Davenport, Homer, Morris Plains, N. J.
Davidson, Edward W., New Rochelle.
Davidson, Sylvanus M., 7 Stratford Ave., Fishkill-on-the-Hudson.
Davies, Hon. Julien T., Great Rivers, L. I.
Davies, Richard T., 1 West 81st St., New York City.
Davis, Gen. Chas. S., U. S. A., 23 Front St., Schenectady.
Davis, Maj. William Church, Fort Rivere, Hull, Mass.
Dannemiller, Edward, Foot 39th St., Brooklyn.
Dalton, E. P., 24 W. 51st St., New York City.
DeGarmo, Dr. Wm. B., 616 Madison Ave., New York City.
Delafield, Louis L., 1 Nassau St., New York City.
Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., Century Club, 7 W. 43rd St., New York City.
DeKoven, Anna F., 42 E. 66th St., New York City.
Denslow, Rev. Dr. Herbert M., 2 Chelsea Square, New York City.
Denniston, Rear Admiral Henry M., Washingtonville.

- DeVries, J. Carlisle, 11 E. 48th St., New York City.
Dewey, Frederick L., Potsdam.
Dexter, Henry C., Black River.
Derby, Lt. Col. George McClellan, 1015 Carrolton Ave., New Orleans, La.
Denman, Frederick H., 170 Broadway, New York City.
Diehl, Hon. Clarence A., 312 W. 109th St., New York City.
Diefendorf, Warren T., 164 Montague St., Brooklyn.
Dillenback, Major John W., 40 Washington St., Watertown.
Dorrlamm, George, 679 Harmon St., Brooklyn.
Dowling, Hon. Victor J., Court House, New York City.
Dolan, James C., Gouverneur, N. Y.
Douglas, James, 99 John St., New York City.
Dougherty, Hon. J. Hampden, 27 William St., New York City.
Donell, Dr. Philip, 86 Bond St., Port Richmond.
Doherty, Henry L., 60 Wall St., New York City.
Donner, H. Montague, Authors' Club, Carnegie Hall, N. Y. City.
Dorrance, Charles P., 35 Nassau St., New York City.
Driggs, Marshall S., 279 Washington Ave., Brooklyn.
Driggs, Lawrence LaT., 43 Cedar St., New York City.
Draper, Rev. Gideon F., 418 Westcott St., Syracuse.
Draper, Daniel, 64th St. and 5th Ave., New York City.
Dudley, Col. Edgar S., West Point.
Duell, Hon. Charles H., 60 Wall St., New York City.
Dunham, Rev. C. M., 145 W. 46th St., New York City.
Dunham, Rev. A. E., Addison.
Dunham, Rev. Francis S., Albion.
Dunning, Rev. Henry N., 18 Ten Broeck St., Albany.
Dunning, Dr. Wm. B., 129 E. 76th St., New York City.
Dunn, Henry E., 346 Broadway, New York City.
Durkee, Charles D., 2 South St., New York City.
Drummond, Hon. Richard C. S., 59 Genesee St., Auburn.
Eastman, Henry M. W., Roslyn, Nassau Co.
Easton, Robert T. S., 120 Broadway, New York City.
Easp, Wilbur F., 80 Wall St., New York City.
Eddy, Rev. Wm. D., Smyrna.
Edson, Walter H., Falconer.

Eells, Richard L., 128 6th Ave., Brooklyn.
Ehrhorn, Oscar W., 15 William St., New York City.
Eilers, Frederick A., 751 St. Mark's Ave., Brooklyn.
Eldridge, Rev. Gardner S., 199 VanBuren St., New York City.
Ellis, George W., 149 Broadway, New York City.
Ellis, Willis C., Shortsville.
Elmer, Herbert C., Ithaca.
Emanuel, John H., Jr., 304 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn.
Emerson, Henry P., 122 College St., Buffalo.
Englehardt, Dr. Francis E., 7 Clinton Block, Syracuse.
Enos, Alonson T., 160 W. 16th St., New York City.
Erben, Rear Admiral Henry, 130 E. 44th St., New York City.
Erganian, Dr. John K., 118 E. 18th St., New York City.
Elsberg, Hon. Nathaniel A., 27 William St., New York City.
Esmond, Irwin, Ballston Spa.
Estes, William C., 74 Warren St., New York City.
Evans, Joseph J., 10 E. 14th St., New York City.
Evans, Rev. William L., St. David's Hall, Scarsdale.
Everett, Major James H., 105 Maiden Lane, Kingston.
Fahnestock, Rev. Alfred H., 1411 Part St., Syracuse.
Fairchild, Eli W., Montecello.
Farchild, Hon. G. W., Oneonta.
Farley, Hon. Godfrey P., 58 W. 59th St., New York City.
Farrington, Wm. H., P. O. Box 1741, New York City.
Faust, Dr. Albert B., Cornell University, Ithaca.
Fay, Miss Amy, 68 W. 91st St., New York City.
Fearons, George H., 195 Broadway, New York City.
Felter, Wm. L., 996 Sterling Place, Brooklyn.
Field, Cortland de Peyster, Peekskill.
Field, Anthony, 60 Liberty St., New York City.
Fiero, Hon. J. Newton, 100 State St., Albany.
Fiets, Hon. George W., 69 Grant St., Cohoes.
Finch, Edward R., 37 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Fisher, George H., 84 Broadway, Brooklyn.
Fisher, Hon. Myron E., Delivan.
Fitch, Hon. Charles E., Albany.
Fitch, Dr. W. E., 320 Manhattan Ave., New York City.

Fitzgerald, Hon. James, 140 E. 79th St., New York City.
Flagler, John H., 200 Broadway, New York City.
Flanagan, John, 931 Broadway, New York City.
Flint, Peter, 15 W. 21st St., New York City.
Flint, Charles R., 4 E. 36th St., New York City.
Foote, Hon. Nathaniel, Court House, Rochester.
Forbes, Henry P., Canton.
Forbes, Robert L., New Rochelle.
Fordham, Herbert L., 49 Wall St., New York City.
Hartley, Francis G., 232 Madison Ave., New York City.
Jennings, Frank W., Johnstown, N. Y.
Kennedy, Patrick L., 20 2nd St., New York City.
Malloy, Edward R. J., 35 Brantford Pl., Buffalo.
McCarroll, Hon. Wm., 758 St. Mark's Ave., Brooklyn.
Paltsits, Victor H., Albany.
Redway, Jacques W., Mount Vernon.
Stephens, Dr. John J., 1812 13th St., Washington, D. C.
Sutherland, Hon. George P., 49 Wall St., New York City.
Van Kleeck, Frederick J. B., White Plains.
Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Schuyler, 9 West 10th St., New York City.
Willis, Dudrich Vaick, Fayette.

As the bulk of these names were secured through the efforts of our late Secretary, Hon. Robert O. Bascom, it was resolved that the Society recognize that "By his untimely departure, the Association has lost an able worker, a thoroughly efficient officer, and a great builder-up of its interests." And it was further resolved that Judge Ingalsbe prepare a suitable memorial to be printed in the annual proceedings.

At the election of trustees, the following were elected for a term expiring in 1912:

Hon. D. S. Alexander
Rev. John H. Brandow
Hon. G. M. Ingalsbe
Mr. Morris Patterson Ferriss
Hon. Victor H. Paltsits
Dr. W. A. E. Cummings
Mr. Jacques W. Redway
Hon. Charles F. Cantine

and Hon. T. Astley Atkins was elected trustee in place of Robert O. Bascom, deceased, term expiring 1911.

Telegrams were received from W. O. Hart from New Orleans, and from Mrs. Donald McLean, Honorary President of the Daughters of the Revolution, regretting their inability to be present.

SPECIAL MEETING.

The meeting then adjourned and the special meeting was called to order. Hon. James A. Roberts was elected chairman and Frederick B. Richards secretary of the special meeting.

The call for the special meeting and affidavit of the secretary was read as follows:

Notice is hereby given that a Special Meeting of the New York State Historical Association will be held at the Public Library in the City of Mount Vernon, New York, October 19th, 1909, at eleven o'clock A. M. for the purpose of voting upon the following Resolution:

Resolved, That it is desirable to extend the purposes for which this corporation was created, and to that end to make the following changes in the original Articles of Incorporation:

First: In the paragraph numbered "Third" of said Article to strike out the words "and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George," and to insert in the place thereof the words "of New York and to establish a museum therein."

Second: In the paragraph next following the paragraph numbered "Fifth" of the said Articles to strike out the words "Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga and Hamilton Counties, in."

Third: In the next succeeding paragraph to strike out the words "Caldwell on Lake George, County of Warren, State of New York," and to insert in the place thereof the words "the City of Albany, New York."

Dated, Glens Falls, N. Y., October 4th, 1909.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,

Assistant and Acting Secretary.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.:
Warren County.

Frederick B. Richards being duly sworn, says that he resides in the City of Glens Falls, New York; that he is the Assistant Secretary of the New York State Historical Association; that Robert O. Bascom, the Secretary of the said Association died in May, 1909; that since the death of the said Robert O. Bascom, he, the deponent, Frederick B. Richards, has been Acting Secretary of the said Association, and that on the 6th day of October, 1909, he served the annexed notice of a special meeting of the said Corporation on each and every member thereof, by depositing a copy of the said notice in the Post Office at said Glens Falls, inclosed in a securely sealed, postpaid wrapper, directed to each of the said members at his or her last known Post Office address.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS.

Sworn to before me this
18th day of October, 1909.

Fred S. Russell,
Notary Public.

Upon motion it was resolved that the resolution as read by the secretary be adopted and that a committee be appointed to take charge of the matter with power to take such steps as are necessary to incorporate the proposed amendment in our charter. The Chair appointed Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Mr. Morris Paterson Ferris and Dr. Sherman Williams such committee.

Upon motion the meeting adjourned.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS, Secretary.

TRUSTEES' MEETING.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the New York State Historical Association held in the public library at Mount Vernon, N. Y., on the 19th day of October, 1909, there were present:

Hon. James A. Roberts
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe
Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris
Mr. William Wait
Dr. Jacques W. Redway
Mr. Frederick B. Richards

The following officers were elected:

President—Hon. James A. Roberts.
 First Vice-President—Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe.
 Second Vice-President—Dr. Sherman Williams.
 Third Vice-President—Dr. William O. Stillman.
 Treasurer—James A. Holden.
 Secretary—Frederick B. Richards.
 Assist. Secretary—Dr. W. A. E. Cummings.

Upon motion it was resolved that Judge Ingalsbe be elected president of the Board of Trustees to preside in the absence of the president.

Upon motion it was resolved that the President appoint the usual standing committees. The President announced the committee on program to be

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe
 Dr. Sherman Williams

with power to add to their committee.

The committee on Legislation

Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris,
 Chairman
 Gen. Henry E. Tremain
 Dr. Sherman Williams
 Dr. William O. Stillman
 Hon. Victor H. Paltsits

The committee on Marking Historic Spots

Dr. Sherman Williams
 Chairman
 Mr. Frederick B. Richards
 Hon. Irvin W. Near
 Mr. James A. Holden
 Dr. W. A. E. Cummings

The Committee on Closer Relations between Historical Societies

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe
 Chairman
 Dr. William O. Stillman
 Hon. Frank H. Severance

Upon motion it was resolved that the Committee on Program be empowered to send out such circulars as they may wish to gain information on the lines of work of the different members of the Society.

Upon motion it was resolved that the secretary be the committee on printing the annual proceedings with power to associate with him anyone that he may wish.

Upon motion it was resolved that the secretary be a committee to issue invitations to anyone that he may think would make desirable members of the Association, with power to incur any necessary expense of printing or postage.

Upon motion the meeting adjourned.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS, Secretary.

The second session was opened at 2 P. M. Tuesday by a paper entitled "The Governors of New York" by Hon. Charles Z. Lincoln, author of "The Constitutional History of New York," and Editor of "Messages from the Governors," Albany, N. Y. This paper was read by Judge Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill.

This was followed by a paper written by Hon. Irvin W. Near, Hornell, N. Y., on "A Native of Jefferson County, New York, First Organized and Named the Republican Party." This was read by Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris.

"A Recently Found Portrait Medallion of Jacques Cartier" was the subject of a paper by John M. Clarke, Director New York State Museum, Albany, N. Y., read by Dr. Jacques W. Redway.

"Washington's Retreat Through Westchester County" was given by Rev. John Henry Brandow, M. A., Author of "Old Saratoga," Albany, N. Y.

The report of the Committee on The Establishment of Closer Relations between the Historical Societies of the State, by Sherman Williams, Ph. D., Glens Falls, N. Y., was read by Mr. Frederick B. Richards.

Among the delegates present from other Historical Societies were: Rev. John H. Brandow, Schoharie Historical Society; Hon. T. Astley Atkins, Yonkers Historical and Library Association; Edward L'Estrange Phipps, Westchester County Historical Soc-

iety; Edwin J. Brown, Madison County Historical Society; Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, Ticonderoga Historical Society.

"Westchester in Colonial Times" was the subject of the symposium which was given with the co-operation of the Yonkers Historical and Library Association and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The first paper was "The Genesis of Westchester County as a Result of Pell's Intrusion Into New Netherlands," by Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S., Mount Vernon, N. Y.

This was followed by "The Cowboys, the Skinners and the Neutral Ground," by Stephen Jenkins, Author and Lecturer, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

At this point Hon. Victor H. Paltsits presented the Association with advance copies of "Commissioners of Conspiracies of the State of New York," which had just been received from the printer.

The third session met Tuesday, 8:00 P. M., in the assembly hall of School No. 1, Fifth Avenue and Second Street.

At this session the annual address was given by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, of New York City, his subject being "The Study of History as Corrective of Economic Eccentricity."

The fourth session, Wednesday, October 20th, 2:00 P. M., was opened by the President's Address, by Hon. James A. Roberts, New York City, N. Y.

"The Executive Relation of New York State to Historical Scholarship" was then presented by Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian, Albany, N. Y., which was followed by a discussion on the subject by Hon. James A. Francis, New York City; Dr. Ernest Schmidt, President of Westchester County Historical Society; Dr. W. A. E. Cummings; Dr. Jacques W. Redway, and Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris.

Upon motion by Mr. Ferris it was resolved that the Association urge the reintroduction of the State Historian's original bill in the next legislature and that the Association use its best endeavors to secure the enactment of the bill into law when so introduced.

"The Capture of Andre" was the subject of a paper by Marcus D. Raymond, Editor Tarrytown Argus, Tarrytown, N. Y.

After reading this paper Mr. Raymond exhibited a powder horn that was carried by David Williams.

"The Historical Significance of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys" was presented by Francis W. Halsey, Author of "The Old New York Frontier," "A Tour of Four Great Rivers," New York City, N. Y.

At the fifth session on Wednesday, October 20th, at 8:00 P. M., the Symposium was continued, the first paper being "Relations of the Dutch and the Indians prior to the Massacre of 1655," by Hon. T. Astley Atkins, Yonkers, N. Y.

This was followed by "Ann Hutchinson—Her Life in New York—A Character Sketch," by Mrs. Robert McVickar, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

The next paper was entitled "The Battle at Pell's Point, or Pelham," by William Abbatt, Editor Magazine of History, New York, N. Y.

"Old St. Paul's Church, Colonial and Revolutionary" was the subject of a paper by Clarence S. McClellan, Jr., Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Miss Susanne Stone, Mount Vernon, N. Y., then described "Some Historic Houses of Westchester County."

"An Analysis of Certain Social Institutions in the History of Westchester County" was the closing paper of the session and was presented by Joseph S. Wood, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Upon motion it was resolved that the thanks of the Association be extended to all who have presented papers at the sessions, to the Local Committee of Arrangements, and to the Yonkers Historical and Library Association, and to all the good people of Mount Vernon who have made us welcome.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS, Secretary.

THE GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK

BY CHARLES Z. LINCOLN.

Executive authority in New York had a peculiar origin. Organized government was not spontaneous, voluntary and independent as at first in Oregon and Texas, nor was it brought from any foreign country as a strictly political power, to be administered for the benefits of the inhabitants of a new colony and for promoting the interest of the home nation. But in New York government was established and developed by a corporation whose primary objects were to enlarge commercial opportunities, to enrich its members and to increase the strength and influence of the government by which the corporation was created.

Colonization in New York began under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, chartered primarily for commercial purposes, but vested with extraordinary political powers which were deemed essential in effecting the primary purpose of the corporation, but whose operations were to be carried on in countries so far from the source of original authority as to render immediate supervision by the home government impracticable.

The executive history of New York may be divided into four periods.

First. The period covered by the administration of the Dutch West India Company, which may be called the corporate period. This period began nominally in 1621, on the incorporation of this company, but actually in 1623 or 1624, when colonization was begun, and it terminated on the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664.

Second. The period covered by the administration of the Duke of York, which may be called the proprietary period. This period began in 1664, when the Duke received from his brother, King

Charles II of England, a grant of New York and other territory in America. Acting on this charter the Duke of York conquered New Netherland and obtained possession of the colony in August, 1664. His proprietary government continued until his accession to the throne of England as James II which occurred in February, 1685, except a short period of Dutch re-occupation in 1673 and 1674.

Third. The period between the accession of James II and the American Revolution, from 1685 to 1775. During that time New York was described and regarded as a royal province, and the period may therefore be called the provincial period.

Fourth. The period since and following the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the adoption of a State Constitution in 1777, which may be called the State period.

These periods will be separately considered.

THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY.

This corporation was created by the States General of United Netherlands by a charter dated the 3d of June, 1621, which was to be in force from the following first day of July. As already pointed out, the primary object of the corporation was commercial as appears from the declaration in the charter that the company was to promote "navigation, trade and commerce" in Africa, the West Indies, and parts of America, including what is now New York. The charter granted to the company a commercial monopoly which was to continue twenty-four years.

But besides the powers conferred upon the corporation for business purposes, it was also to be a governmental agency and exercise political power as the direct representative of the home government. This political power was expressed in the following provision in the charter:

"That moreover, the aforesaid company may, in our name and authority, within the limits herein before prescribed, make contracts, engagements, and alliances, with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended therein, and also build any forts and

fortifications there, to appoint and discharge governors, people for war, and officers of justice, and other public officers, for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police, and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade; and again, others in their places to put, as they, from the situation of their affairs, shall see fit; moreover, they may advance the peopling of fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of these countries and the profit and increase of trade, shall require; and the company shall successively communicate and transmit to us such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid princes and nations; and likewise the situations of the fortresses, fortifications, and settlements by them taken."

The charter conferred on the corporations large and even extraordinary powers, both commercial and political, which were deemed necessary for the transaction of its business, and provided many details of administration, but for the purposes of this paper we need only consider the powers vested in its highest executive officer.

This statement of powers conferred on the corporation, above quoted, authorized the company to "appoint and discharge governors", but the charter expressly provided that when the company should choose a governor and give him instructions, they were to be approved by the States General, and a commission should be issued by them, and all governors, deputy governors, commanders and officers were required to take an oath of allegiance to the States General and also to the Company. The government promised to furnish military and naval aid, and guaranteed to protect the company in carrying out the objects of the charter.

It may be noted that on the 23rd of January, 1664, only a few months before the English conquest, the States General confirmed the original charter granted to the company in 1621, and reaffirmed the right of the company to establish colonies and carry on its operations as provided by the original charter.

THE BEGINNING OF COLONIZATION. Most historians place the beginning of colonization in New Netherland under the

auspices of the Dutch West India Company in the year 1623, and there is some evidence to sustain this view.

On the general question of the date of the first settlement, it should be noted that Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer in her "History of the City of New York," 1909, examines and collates numerous official and incidental facts, and reaches the conclusion that the first settlement was in 1623.

There are also statements in historical documents from which the argument may be deduced that the first migration to New Netherland under the direction of this company was in the spring of 1624. Official evidence is scarce. The only document bearing on the question to which I have access is a report to the Dutch West India Company by its Board of Accounts or finance committee in December, 1644. On the order of the States General the Assembly of XIX directed this board or committee to examine all the papers and documents relating to the history of the company, and make a report on the condition of its affairs in New Netherland. In an introductory statement the Board say that "in the years 1622 and 1623 the West India Company took possession, by virtue of their charter, of the said company, and conveyed thither, in their ship, the New Netherland, divers colonists under the direction of Cornelius Jacobsz, May and Adriaen Jorissz. Tienpont, which directors in the year 1624 built Fort Orange on the North River, and Fort Nassau on the South River, and after that, in 1626, Fort Amsterdam on the Manhattes."

There is also contemporaneous, though not official, evidence. Nicolaes Janszoon van Wassenaer, an Amsterdam physician, published a series of historical compilations covering a period from 1621-1632. They were usually published semi-annually, though sometimes not quite regularly. In Part VI, published apparently in October, 1624, Dr. Wassenaer, after referring to various movements to plant colonies along the Atlantic coast, says that the "States General observing the great abundance of their people as well as their desire to occupy other lands, have allowed the West India Company to settle the same country. Many from the United Provinces did formerly and do still trade there", and Fort Nas-

sau had been erected "on the River Montagne, now called Mauritius" (Hudson). This fort was built on Castle Island near Albany in 1614, but was abandoned in 1617.

Dr. Wassenauer concludes Part VI by saying that a "ship was fitted out under a commission from the West India Company, and freighted with families, to plant a colony among this people", the Mohegans who inhabited both sides of the Hudson River. "But to go forward safely, it is first of all necessary that they be placed in a good defensive position and well provided with forts and arms", to prevent trouble with the Spaniards, who it was said were making aggressions on the American coast. The compiler then says that description of these events will be "presented in the commencement of Part Seventh, as this book cannot contain it." The preface to Part VI bears date June 1, 1624, from which it may be inferred that the vessel bearing the first emigrants had sailed, but no news of its arrival had been received, and therefore a description of the whole affair would be postponed until the next number.

In Part VII, published in 1625, the preface to which bears date December 1, 1624, Dr. Wassenauer says:

"The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers, did not neglect so to do but equipped in the spring a vessel of 130 lasts, called the Nieu Nederlandt, whereof Cornelis Jasobsz May of Hoorn was skipper, with a company of thirty families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March, and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered towards the Wild Coast, and gained the west wind which luckily took them in the beginning of May into the river called, first Rio de Montagnes, now the River Mauritius (Hudson) lying in 40 1-2 degrees."

A French vessel was found at the mouth of the river which, with the aid of the Dutch yacht, "The Maeckereel," which was lying up the river, was conveyed out of the river and its commander was prohibited from asserting any territorial rights in behalf of the French. The account goes on to say that after the departure of the French vessel the Dutch vessel, the New Netherland,

sailed up the river 44 leagues where a fort was built and completed, named Fort Orange, on the site of the present city of Albany. "They forthwith put spade in the ground and began to plant, and before the yacht Maeckereel sailed, the grain was nearly as high as a man, so that they are bravely advanced." Dr. Wassenaer also says in this connection that "the yacht Maeckereel sailed out last year on the 16th of June and arrived yonder on the 12th of December.

The foregoing comprises all the documentary or other contemporaneous evidence that I have had an opportunity to examine, and I do not know of any other bearing on the date of the first settlement of New Netherland by the West India Company. The Company's Board of Accounts say that the Company took possession in 1622 and 1623, and sent out a ship, and that Fort Orange and a fort on the South or Delaware River were built in 1624.

In Dr. Wassenaer's account the phrase "the spring" seems to mean the spring of 1624, and he says that Fort Orange was built immediately after the arrival of the ship, which agrees with the statement by the Board of Accounts, whose report was based on the papers and documents relating to the early history of the Company. The statement that Fort Orange was built in 1624 is therefore official, and should, I think, be deemed conclusive. It is manifest from all the accounts that the settlers did not postpone for a year the building of a fort.

The movements of the yacht Maeckereel, as detailed by Dr. Wassenaer, show I think that the first settlers sent out by the Company under the command of Captain May did not arrive until the early summer of 1624. They found this yacht lying in the river. Wassenaer expressly says that this yacht sailed from Holland in June of "last year", which according to the preface dated December 1, 1624, would obviously mean the year 1623, but it did not arrive in New York harbor until December, 1623, and, therefore, the yacht could not have been in the harbor, nor in the river, on the arrival of the New Netherland if it arrived in June, 1623. Moreover, the Maeckereel sailed back to Holland in the summer after the colonists arrived. It seems clear from Dr. Wassenaer's account

that the Maeckereel lay in the river or was engaged in fishing up and down the river through the winter of 1623-1624.

In the "Narratives of New Netherlands", September, 1909, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, various historical documents and publications relating to early colonial history are collected, some of which throw light on the question as to the year in which the first settlements by the West India Company were made in New Netherland. These narratives include extracts from Dr. Wassenauer's serial publications already noted, which may, I believe, be found in full in the State Library. In an introduction to these extracts Dr. Jameson says, page 65: "It was two years from the granting of the charter (June, 1621, June, 1623), before the West India Company had perfected its internal organization and become ready to prosecute with energy the objects of its incorporation."

Students who believe that the first settlement of New Netherland by the West India Company was in 1624, and not in 1623, find presumptive and probably conclusive evidence in the report of the Company's Board of Accounts, and the sketches of Current history published by Dr. Wassenauer at the time the Company was beginning the work of colonization.

THE BEGINNING OF GOVERNMENT. The chief executive officer of the Company, and therefore of the colony under its supervision, was called the Director, and was commonly known as the Director-General, but his powers were substantially the same as the powers vested in the Governor during subsequent periods.

Until 1626 the Director seems to have exercised executive authority alone, but in that year Peter Minuit was appointed Director, and with him was associated a council of five which was vested with general legislative, administrative and judicial powers. Speaking generally, the Governor or Director seems to have possessed absolute executive authority. The inhabitants of the colony frequently complained of this absolute authority and demanded some restraint on the Governor's powers, either through the

council, or by the selection of bodies of men chosen in whole or in part by the people.

The powers of the Governor or Director were usually described in his commission, but these powers were also frequently amplified by means of so-called instructions, either accompanying or following the commission. Unfortunately the early records of the Dutch West India Company are for the most part lost, and the commission issued to Peter Stuyvesant as Director in 1646 is the first to which I have had access. As bearing on the probabilities relative to the form of earlier commissions it may be noted that only twenty years had elapsed since the establishment of a form of government with a Director and Council, and it should also be noted that Stuyvesant held the office of Director from 1646 until 1664, the close of the Dutch period, covering eighteen years, or nearly half of the entire time during which the Dutch West India Company exercised jurisdiction in the colony. According to the Stuyvesant commission the Director was required

“to administer, with the council as well now as hereafter appointed with him, the said office of director, both on water and on land, and in said quality, to attend carefully to the advancement, promotion, and preservation of friendship, alliances, trade, and commerce; to direct all matters appertaining to traffic and war, and to maintain, in all things there, good order for the service of the United Netherlands and the General West India Company; to establish regularity for the safeguard of the places and forts therein; to administer law and justice, as well civil as criminal; and moreover, to perform all that concerns his office and duties in accordance with the charter, and the general and particular instructions herewith given, and to be hereafter given him.”

Here was complete executive, legislative and judicial power, and while the Director was required to act with the council this requirement was in practice often, if not generally, ignored and the Director acted according to his own judgment.

Dr. O’Callaghan in his *History of New Netherland*, volume I, p. 244, describes the Director General “as absolute in New

Netherland, and beyond all control within the colony. As representative of the sovereign authority, he extinguished Indian titles to land, and sanctioned all purchases from the aborigines. No contracts, engagements, transfers, bargains nor sales were valid, except such as were passed before and written by his secretary. He erected courts; appointed, either directly or indirectly, all public officers, except such as came out with commissions from Holland; made laws; issued ordinances; incorporated towns; imposed taxes; levied fines; inflicted penalties; and could affect the value of any man's property at a moment, by raising or lowering the value of wampum, which constituted the chief currency at this period of the country. He not only acted in an executive and legislative, but also in a judicial capacity. He decided all civil and criminal questions without the intervention of a jury, such an institution being unknown in the province; and before him were brought all appeals from inferior courts."

While the council was supposed to exercise some restraint on the action of the governor, its influence was for the most part only nominal, and the governor, notwithstanding the council, was for all practical purposes the absolute ruler of the colony. The colonists frequently protested against this situation, and demanded some form of representative government. This demand was usually resisted by the governors, who evidently desired and intended to retain personal authority. Thus, in 1641 a body known as the Twelve Men was chosen, primarily to act with the governor in considering the question of a proposed Indian war, but it assumed authority to give advice on other subjects.

In 1643 the people chose a representative body known as the Eight Men to act with the governor in the administration of public affairs. This body considered several questions submitted to it by the governor and exercised some legislative powers. It continued in existence about a year. In 1647 under Governor Stuyvesant, the Nine Men were chosen, under a proclamation calling for the nomination by the people of eighteen men from whom the governor and council selected nine to act as a representative body. Governor Stuyvesant called these men "The Tribunes of the People",

and they were distributed among the different classes in the colony by selecting three from the merchants, three from the citizens, and three from the farmers. The powers actually conferred on this body were somewhat meager, but it marked an important advance toward representative government. The people had no voice in the selection of members to fill vacancies in this body, but such vacancies were to be filled by the Director-General. Vacancies were frequently not filled, and the body was gradually permitted to become extinct. I do not find any record of it after 1652.

The people persisted in the reform movement, and in December, 1653, held a convention at New Amsterdam to consider colonial affairs and devise means of relief from the oppressive and restrictive measures of the administration. Governor Stuyvesant at first protested against this convention, but afterwards consented to its being held under the direction of two members of the council. The convention adopted a remonstrance asserting the principle of representative government, protesting against arbitrary power and demanding immediate relief. Little was gained by the people from this movement, but it was of great value as it afforded an opportunity for discussion of principles of free government, and it produced results in later years.

During this period the Director was primarily the agent and representative of the Dutch West India Company. He was the servant of the company, though receiving his commission from the States General, and was responsible to the company and also to the home government. He held the peculiar position of an officer of a commercial corporation, possessing at the same time almost absolute governmental authority. With the increase of population and the consequent expansion of commercial and other public interests, the duties and responsibilities of the Director became more complicated and important, and it is not singular that the people of the colony, English and Dutch, who had brought with them local customs and principles of government with which they had been familiar at home, should have protested against the exercise of arbitrary power by the Director. It was not government by the people, but government by a corporation, the Director being its

chief and responsible representative. His position was anomalous in that while he was designated as Director, and exercised substantially the functions of governor, he was not a director of the company in the sense of being one of its managers. The central power of the corporation was vested in an Assembly of XIX, composed of delegates from the several constituent cities in the United Netherlands, and the Amsterdam Chamber was especially charged with the administration of the Company's affairs in New Netherland.

The government of the colony during this period was essentially proprietary, the Dutch West India Company being the proprietor, and was quite similar to the government of the colony as administered under the Duke of York whose administration will be considered in a subsequent section.

DUTCH RECONQUEST OF NEW YORK.

As a part of the history of Dutch supremacy in New York, it may be noted that in July, 1673, a Dutch fleet under the command of two commodores, Evertsen and Binckes, entered New York harbor, and on the 30th, compelled the surrender of the fort and city. The reconquest included all territory under the jurisdiction of Director Stuyvesant at the time of the English conquest in 1664. The seizure of the colony at this time was in behalf of the Dutch republic, and the West India Company had no interest in the affair. The incident, therefore, has no place in the sketch relating to the operations of the West India Company. This reconquest interrupted temporarily the rights and jurisdiction of the Duke of York, the proprietor of the colony.

After a few days of administration by the Dutch commodores and several officers associated in council with them, Captain Anthony Colve on the 12th of August was appointed "Governor General" of the colony, by a commission issued by the Commodores, Evertsen and Binckes, which was entered in the records of the colony on the 19th of September, 1673 N. S.

The news of the reconquest of New York by the Dutch reached

Holland on the 24th of October, 1673, by way of England. On the 15th of December the States General appointed Joris Andringa governor of the reconquered colony, but four days later, on the 19th of December, the States General offered to restore New York to England on certain conditions. This restoration was subsequently effected by the Treaty of Westminster, February 19, 1674, when the colony of New York, or New Netherland, was transferred by the Dutch to the English crown.

King Charles II commissioned Major Edmund Andros to receive the colony from the Dutch. The title of the Duke of York as proprietor of the colony was deemed to have been extinguished by the Dutch reconquest, and the subsequent restoration to the English crown, and on the 29th of June, 1674, Charles II granted a new patent to the Duke, who, on the 1st of July, appointed Major Edmund Andros governor of the colony. On the 10th of November, 1674, possession of the colony was formally transferred by Governor Colve to Governor Andros. This was the end of Dutch government in New York.

DUTCH GOVERNORS.

From the report of the American Board or Chamber of Accounts, from which I have quoted in a preceding section, it seems that the first vessel, the New Netherland, which came to America under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, was under the command of Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May with Adraien Jorissen Tienpont as second in command. The language of the report would indicate that the new colony was under the joint direction of these two men, and they are described as "directors" without any preference, except that Captain May is named first.

In 1624 Fort Orange was built at what is now Albany, and Fort Nassau was built on the South or Delaware River. The settlement at Fort Nassau was under the jurisdiction of Captain May, and the settlement at Fort Orange was under the jurisdiction of Captain Tienpont. It does not appear that at first the Company appointed a director who should have charge of all the settlements,

but it seems quite clear that sometime during the year 1624, May was appointed Director of the colony, and was the first to hold this office with general supervision of all the settlements. Tienpont's jurisdiction at Fort Orange was probably as extensive as that of May at Fort Nassau on the Delaware. These separate jurisdictions were merged in the jurisdiction conferred on Captain May by his appointment as sole director. During at least a part of the first year of the colony it is perhaps proper to describe May and Tienpont as joint directors with separate supervision of different settlements.

The list of Dutch Directors or Governors of the Colony may be stated as follows:

Cornelius Jacobsen May and Adriaen Jorissen Tienpont from the arrival of the first colonists in 1624, until the appointment of May as sole Director.

Cornelius Jacobsen May, 1624.

William Verhulst, 1625.

Peter Minuit from May 4, 1626, to March, 1632.

Bastiaen (Sebastian) Janssen Crol, or Krol, from March, 1632, to April, 1633; also previously serving (dates not given) three years as Director at Fort Orange, sometime after 1626.

Wouter Van Twiller from April, 1633, to March 28, 1638.

William Kieft from March 28, 1638, to May 11, 1647.

Peter Stuyvesant from May 11, 1647, to August 27, 1664, when the colony surrendered to the English.

Anthony Colve, who, as already noted, was appointed governor on the reconquest of New York by the Dutch in 1673, receiving his commission on the 12th of August, and holding office until November 10, 1674, when possession of the colony was again transferred to the English.

Joris Andringa, as stated in a former section, was appointed governor of the colony by the States General on being informed of the reconquest, but almost immediately after his appointment negotiations were begun for the restoration of the colony to the English crown, and it does not appear that he ever came to America, or exercised any official functions.

DUKE OF YORK.

On the 12th of March, 1664, King Charles II granted to his brother James, Duke of York, the territory then occupied by the Dutch within the limits of the present State of New York. It was a conveyance to the Duke, his heirs and assigns, of the territory described therein, to be held to his and their "only proper use and behoofe", in "free and common soccage", with an annual tribute of forty beaver skins.

The charter granted what is known as a proprietary government. It granted to the Duke, "his heirs, Deputyes, Agents, Commissioners and assigns ***** full and absolute power and authority to Correct, punish, pardon, Governe and Rule all such the Subjects of Us Our Heires and Successors, as shall from time to time adventure themselves into any the parts or places afore-said, or that shall or doe at any time hereafter, Inhabite within the same, according to such Lawes, Orders, Ordinances, Directions, and Instruments, as by Our said Dearest Brother, or his Assigns, shall be established, And in defect thereof in Cases of necessity, according to the good discretions of his Deputyes, Commissioners, Officers or Assigns respectively, as well in all Causes and matters Capitall and Criminal, as Civill, both Marine and others, Soe, always, as the said Statutes, Ordinances & proceedings be not contrary to, but as neare as conveniently may be Agreeable to the Lawes, Statutes & Government of this Our Realme of England."

The Duke of York, as first proprietor of the colony, was vested by this charter with substantially absolute power, subject only to the limitation that the statutes, ordinances and proceedings by him enacted or adopted for the purposes of government should conform to the statutes and laws of England, and subject also to the right of appeal to the Crown.

The Duke, by coming to New York, might have governed the colony in person, maintaining a royal establishment, imitating or reproducing the ceremonial of Westminster with deputies and other officers and subordinates to do his bidding. All this would have been perfectly legitimate under the charter. But the Duke chose

to remain in England, and govern the colony by deputies appointed by him from time to time by commissions which defined their powers and duties. These deputies were known as governors, and exercised executive functions under the powers conferred by their commissions and the orders and instructions given by the Duke, all of which, however, were required to conform to the laws of England.

The parallel between this form of government and the government exercised by the Dutch West India Company is apparent. While the government by the Duke of York is distinctively known as a proprietary government, it was no more proprietary on principle than the government exercised by the Dutch West India Company. In one case the corporation, and in another case an individual was proprietor of the colony and might exercise substantially all the powers of the government through deputies, directors or governors appointed for that purpose. Treating both of these methods of government as similar in character, it appears that for sixty years the government of the colony was proprietary in form,—or from 1624 to 1685, omitting about a year covered by the Dutch reoccupation.

The Duke's charter contained numerous details and regulations relative to the powers granted and the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of the colony. The Duke secured possession of the colony by its surrender on the 27th of August, 1664.

Colonel Richard Nicolls, who was placed in charge of the expedition to reduce New Netherland, under the Duke's charter, brought with him a commission as Deputy Governor, and assumed the duties of that office after the capitulation. By the terms of the commission Governor Nicolls was required to "perform and execute all and every the powers which are, by the said letters patent, "granted unto the Duke to be executed by his" deputy, agent or assigns." In addition to the powers conferred on Governor Nicolls by his commission, he was required to obey such instructions as might be given by the Duke. He received a set of instructions, but I have not had access to them, and they seem to have been lost.

The Duke's authority as proprietor of the colony was interrupted in 1673 by the Dutch reconquest, an account of which has already been given. His jurisdiction was resumed in November, 1674, and continued without interruption until February, 1685, when the Duke, in consequence of the death of Charles II, became King of England, and his title as proprietor was merged in his higher title as King. His proprietary government thereupon terminated, and from that time until the Revolution, all governmental jurisdiction in the colony emanated from the Crown, and was exercised either directly by grants from the Crown, or as modified by acts of Parliament.

It is impracticable within the limits of this paper even to summarize the administrations of different governors appointed by the Duke, or subsequently by the Crown, but one fact during the proprietorship of the Duke of York stands out conspicuously as worthy of special notice because of its influence on our subsequent political history.

During the administration of Governor Dongan the Duke of York, in response to numerous requests from the colony, established in 1683 a legislature, to be composed of the governor, the executive council (acting for this purpose as a legislative council) and an Assembly composed of representatives chosen by the people, thus reproducing in the colony the English Parliamentary system. The governor was a constituent member of the legislature under this system as applied in the colony. He could sit with the council and vote on the passage of bills, and he also possessed the power to veto bills, but bills passed by the council and Assembly, and approved by the Governor, were still subject to veto or approval by the Duke, though if so approved by the governor they remained in force until actually vetoed or repealed by the Duke.

This legislature held several sessions, but was dissolved in January, 1687. Governor Dongan's second commission, dated June 10, 1686, made no provision for an Assembly, but by that instrument legislative power was vested in the governor and council. The Assembly was revived on the accession of William and Mary as sovereigns of England, the first session being held in April, 1691.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The governor's power was not to be arbitrary and absolute, but was intended to be under reasonable restraint. Almost from the beginning of our colonial history a council was associated with the governor as a part of the administration. Such a council was established by the Dutch West India Company when Peter Minuit was sent to the colony as its Director General in 1626, and from that time to the end of the colonial period there was always, at least in form, an executive council.

On the establishment of the Assembly in 1683, and its reestablishment in 1691, this council became a legislative council, and when not acting in a legislative capacity the council occupied an advisory relation to the governor, and he was required to act with the advice and consent of the council. In this respect the colonial council occupied substantially the same relation to appointments that the Senate occupies under the Constitution so far as that body is vested with the power to confirm or reject appointments by the governor. The history of the colonial period shows that substantially all matters of administration were submitted by the governor to the consideration of the council.

The number of members of the council varied at different times during the colonial period, the first (Minuit's) being composed of five members; later the number was established at seven, and at the close of the colonial period the number was limited to twelve.

PROPRIETARY EXECUTIVES.

The following persons exercised executive authority in the colony during the proprietorship of the Duke of York:

Richard Nicolls, Governor, September 8, 1664, to August 17, 1667.

Colonel Francis Lovelace, Governor, August 17, 1667, to August 27, 1673.

(Dutch reoccupation from August 27, 1673, to November 10, 1674).

Major Edmund Andros, Governor, November 10, 1674, to November 16, 1677.

Anthony Brockholles, Commander-in-Chief, November 16, 1677, to August 7, 1678.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, August 7, 1678, to January 13, 1681.

Anthony Brockholles, Commander-in-Chief, January 13, 1681, to August 27, 1682.

Thomas Dongan, Governor (first commission) August 27, 1682, to June 10, 1686.

NEW YORK A ROYAL PROVINCE.

It has been already noted that the accession of James, Duke of York, as King of England in February, 1685, produced a radical change in the political situation in New York, for the reason that his title as proprietor of the colony under the grant from Charles II was merged in the higher title of the King as sovereign. From this time until the end of the colonial period New York was a royal province and governors were commissioned directly by the Crown. They held office during the pleasure of the Crown, under commissions defining their general powers and jurisdiction, which were amplified by accompanying or subsequent instructions. The governor was designated as "Captain General and Governor in Chief", and in later years was also appointed chancellor.

Thomas Dongan was governor at the close of the proprietary period, and James, soon after his accession as King, appointed Dongan as the first governor of the province. He held this office until August 11, 1688, when he was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who, on the preceding 7th of April, had been appointed governor of the territory embracing New England and New York, New York having been annexed to New England for this purpose.

James abdicated the English throne on the 11th of December, 1688, and thereupon William and Mary became sovereigns. New York and New England were again separated, and on the 14th of November, 1689, Henry Sloughter was appointed governor of New York, but he did not arrive in the colony until March 19, 1691.

In the meantime Jacob Leisler assumed executive authority in the colony, and exercised executive power under the title of Lieutenant-Governor. He called an Assembly which held two sessions, one in April, 1690, and the second in September, 1690. Leisler was convicted of treason, and executed on the 16th of May, 1691, together with his chief associate Jacob Milborne.

With the accession of Henry Sloughter as governor, who assumed the duties of his office in March, 1691, regular government under royal authority was instituted, and it continued without interruption until the Revolution. Governor Sloughter had the honor of reestablishing the Assembly, and reorganizing the Legislature in a form which has continued practically unchanged to the present time, except that the colonial council, which acted also as a legislative council and a part of the Legislature, was succeeded by the Senate under the Constitution.

The governor's relation to legislation during the provincial period was in general the same as during the proprietary period under the Duke of York. He was at first a member of the council and might vote on any bill. As presiding officer he also had a casting vote in case of a tie, and had the power to veto a bill after its passage by both houses. This situation continued until 1733, when a protest was made against the governor's power to act as a member of the legislative council. The question was submitted to the home government, and in 1735 it was decided that the governor should not "in any case sit and vote as a member of the council", and beginning with 1736 the council elected its own presiding officer. Thereafter the governor's power as to legislation was limited to recommendations and to a veto. This relation of the governor to legislation remained unchanged during the colonial period, and was continued under the Constitution. It should be noted, however, that during the colonial period the governor's veto

was conclusive, for the reason that the legislature had no power to pass a bill over his veto, and in case of his approval of a bill, it was still subject to veto by the Crown.

The parliamentary custom under which the King makes an opening speech on the organization of a new Parliament was made a part of the colonial legislative system, and the governor, in imitation of the King, delivered an opening speech in the presence of both houses at the organization of a new legislature and also frequently at other times.

At the beginning the Assembly adopted the practice of presenting to the governor a formal address, or answer, after the delivery of the opening speech. This practice was also adopted by the council after the governor ceased to be its presiding officer. This formal address or answer to the governor's speech sometimes provoked a reply from him, and occasionally the situation developed into an unhappy controversy between the governor and assembly. It will be noted in a subsequent section that the custom of delivering an opening speech at the organization of the legislature was continued under the first Constitution, but the custom was formally discontinued by the second Constitution, which required the governor to communicate to the legislature by message.

GUBERNATORIAL SUCCESSION. So far as I have been able to discover the commissions issued by the Dutch West India Company to its directors in New Netherland made no provision for a succession, but it seems that in case of the director's absence the administration was temporarily carried on by his council. In preparing my Constitutional History of New York I examined this subject and included the result in a note which may be found in Volume IV at page 485. I take the liberty of quoting from it here.

“In administering colonial affairs provision was made for carrying on the government in case of the death or absence of the governor. During the Dutch *regime* and a part of the English period the administration in such a case devolved on the council as a body. Without going into useless details it may be noted that Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor, during a temporary

absence from the colony in 1654, left the government in the hands of the council.

The instructions given by the Duke of York to Governor Andros in 1674 named a successor who was to take the office in case of the governor's death. So the instructions to Governor Dongan in 1683, the last governor appointed by the Duke of York under his proprietary government, provided that in case of the governor's death the "deputy governor," or he who should be the chief officer under the governor at the time of his decease, should become governor and perform the duties of the office until another was appointed. A distinct change of policy is indicated by the commission issued to Governor Dongan in 1686, the next year after the Duke of York became James II, and New York had become a royal province. By this commission it was provided that in case of the governor's death or absence the government should devolve on such person as the King might designate, and if no such designation were made, then the government was to be administered by the council; and the commission contained the further direction that the first councilor who should, at the time of such death or absence, be residing in the colony, "do preside in our said council, with such powers and pre-eminences as any former president hath used and enjoyed within our said province, or any other of our plantations in America." This provision was repeated in the commission issued to Governor Andros, 1688, in which the office of lieutenant-governor is named for the first time, again in the commission issued to Governor Sloughter, 1691, to Governor Fletcher, 1692, and also to the Earl of Bellmont in 1698, in whose commission it was expressly provided that in case of the governor's death or absence, the lieutenant-governor should become acting governor, and if there was no lieutenant-governor, or if he were absent, the council was to administer the government as under other commissions.

Governor Bellomont died in March, 1701. Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan was then absent from the colony, and a controversy arose as to the authority of the council to carry on the government. The council was divided into two factions—four to three—the majority believing that by the Governor's commission the council

was required to act as a body, while the minority claimed that the oldest councilor was *ex officio* entitled to assume the office of governor. The assembly, which was convened by the council, was requested to declare its judgment as to the devolution of executive power under the circumstances. The assembly accordingly adopted a resolution on the 16th day of April, 1701, expressing the opinion that, by the Governor's death, and in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor, the powers of government had devolved on the council; that the eldest councilor was to preside at its meetings, and that the government was not vested in the eldest councilor nor in any other single member of the council. About a month later the Lieutenant-Governor returned to the colony and at once assumed the office of governor.

The question involved in the controversy was afterwards presented to the Lords of Trade, in London, and they sustained the claim of the majority of the council and the opinion expressed by the assembly. The incident was not of much practical significance, but, like many incidents that have occurred in recent years, it led to a change of policy. Lord Cornbury's commission as governor, which was issued in December, 1702, continued the provision that the council should act in the emergencies described in former commissions. But in the commission issued to Governor Lovelace in May, 1708, the government in the cases specified was expressly devolved on the oldest councilor. This provision became the constitution of the colony so far as the gubernatorial succession was concerned, and is stated in the commission as follows:

"And in case of your death or absence out of our said province (all persons are) to be obedient, aiding and assisting unto such person as shall be appointed by us to be our lieutenant-governor or commander-in-chief of our said province; to whom we do therefore by these presents Give and Grant all and singular the powers and Authorities herein granted, to be by him executed & enjoyed, During Our pleasure or until Your Arrival within our said Province and Territories. And if upon Your Death, or Absence out of Our said Province and Territories, there be no Person upon the place, commissioned or appointed by us to be our Lieutenant-Governor or

Commander-in-Chief of the said Province, Our Will and Pleasure is that the Eldest Councilor whose name is first placed in Our said Instructions to you, and who shall be at the time of Your Death or Absence residing within our said Province of New York, shall take upon him the Administration of the Government and Execute our said Commission and Instructions, and the several powers and Authorities therein contained, in the same manner and to all intents and purposes, as other our Governor or Commander-in-Chief should or ought to do, in case of Your Absence, until Your return, or in all cases until our further pleasure be known therein."

I have examined several commissions issued to subsequent governors and they all contain this provision, but I do not find that on any occasion the president of the council became acting governor in consequence of the death or absence of both the governor and lieutenant-governor. Sometimes there was no lieutenant-governor, and the president then became acting governor upon that officer's death or departure from the colony. Sometimes the Lieutenant-Governor was also a member of the Council. The rule of succession devolved on the president of the council all the powers and duties of the governor whenever there was not in the colony either a governor or a lieutenant-governor, and, under this rule, if the governor and lieutenant-governor were both absent at the same time, the president of the council became acting governor."

SOME COLONIAL EVENTS. If space permitted it would be interesting to describe here some of the events which marked the history of the latter part of the colonial period. The colony developed rapidly, increasing in wealth and population, and this development resulted necessarily in new and complicated questions of administration. There were boundary questions between New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, and also with Canada. There were also numerous Indian treaties, by which large tracts of land were transferred to the possession and jurisdiction of the colony. Wars with Spain and France occupied a large share of the attention of the colonists, and especially the French and Indian war resulting in the capture of Louisburg in 1745, and afterwards

the capture of Quebec in 1759, following which Canada became an English province.

The relations between the different colonies were not always harmonious, but there were many attempts, recommended and encouraged by the home government, to form a union of the colonies for mutual protection and defense. A notable instance of this desire for cooperation was the Albany Plan of Union, formulated in 1754, but which was not accepted by all the colonies nor by the home government.

New York's location between the New England and the western colonies, reaching from the ocean on the south to Canada on the north, imposed on the governors of the colony great responsibility and very delicate and difficult problems were frequently presented for the consideration of the governors and the legislature. Many strong men were sent over from England to be governors of New York, some of whom gave the colony long and prosperous administrations. Their administrations were marked by high ideals, and they manifested a sincere desire to promote the best interests of the colony and enlarge the greatness of the British nation. They frequently came from the highest ranks in English society, and brought with them the best traditions of the Empire.

It was a difficult task to govern the great and growing colony so far from the immediate supervision of the home government, and it is not surprising that a spirit of independence should have gradually developed which often presented serious obstacles to the policies recommended by the Crown, and which were sought to be enforced by the governors. The Assembly was sometimes quite unmanageable. The governor had power to adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the Assembly, and frequently resorted to the power of dissolution when it became impracticable otherwise to settle differences between the executive and the Legislature. But the people often responded to these dissolutions by reelecting the same men to the Assembly. This spirit of independence finally resulted in a formal demand of home rule in the latter part of the colonial period, preceding and connected with the agitation which led to the Revolution. Royal representatives in the colony could not

stem the tide of public opinion which was manifestly tending toward independence. The governors were loyal to their office. They had sought to preserve friendly relations between the colony and the home government, but this was impossible and the Revolution was inevitable.

One of the strongest men appointed to the office of governor was William Tryon, who was the last governor who had jurisdiction over the entire colony. He came from North Carolina where he had already conspicuously served as governor, and took the oath of office as governor of New York on the 9th of July, 1771. Five years later, July 9, 1776, a Provincial Congress or Convention in New York ratified the Declaration of Independence, and from that time until the end of his administration in 1780, Governor Tryon's jurisdiction was limited to the southern part of the colony. His successor, James Robertson, exercised very little real executive power, for the reason that the portion of the colony which was in possession of the British was under martial law, and civil authority was, for the most part, suspended.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES.

The provincial period began with the accession of James II in February, 1685, and closed with the Revolution—nominally with the provisional treaty of peace between Great Britain and the colonies which was signed November 30, 1782, and actually by the definitive treaty of peace September 3, 1783.

The following is a list of colonial executives during this period, with the time of service:

Thomas Dongan, Governor. (Second Commission) 1683, August—1688, April.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor. 1688, August—October.

Francis Nicholson, Lieutenant-Governor. 1688, October—1689, June.

Jacob Leisler, Acting Lieutenant-Governor. 1689, June—1691, March.

Henry Sloughter, Governor. 1691, March—July.

Richard Ingoldesby, Commander-in-Chief. 1691, July—1692, August.

Benjamin Fletcher, Governor. 1692, August—1698, April.

Earl of Bellomont, Governor. 1698, April—1701, March.

Governor's Council. 1701, March—May.

John Nanfan, Lieutenant-Governor. 1701, May—1702, May.

Lord Cornbury, Governor. 1702, May—1708, December.

Lord Lovelace, Governor. 1708, December—1709, May.

Richard Ingoldesby, Lieutenant-Governor. 1709, May—1710, June.

Robert Hunter, Governor. 1710, June—1719, July.

Peter Schuyler, President of Council. 1719, July—1720, September.

William Burnet, Governor. 1720, September—1728, April.

John Montgomerie, Governor. 1728, April—1731, July.

Rip Van Dam, President of Council. 1731, July—1732, March.

William Cosby, Governor. 1732, August—1736, March.

George Clarke, President of Council. 1736, March—October.

George Clarke, Lieutenant-Governor. 1736, October—1743, September.

George Clinton, Governor. 1743, September—1753, October.

Sir Danvers Osborn, Governor. 1753, October 10—October 12.

James DeLancey, Lieutenant-Governor. 1753, October—1755, September.

Sir Charles Hardy, Governor. 1755, September—1757, June.

James DeLancey, Lieutenant-Governor. 1757 June—1760, July.

Cadwallader Colden, President of Council, 1760, July—1761, August.

Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor. 1761, August—1761, October.

Robert Monekton, Governor. 1761, October 26—November 13.

Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor. 1761, November—1762, June.

Robert Monekton, Governor. 1762, June—1763, June.

Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor. 1763, June—1765, November.

Sir Henry Moore, Governor. 1765, November—1769, September.

Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor. 1769, September—1770, October.

Earl of Dunmore, Governor. 1770, October—1771, July.

William Tryon, Governor. 1771, July—1774, April.

Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor. 1774, April—1775, June.

William Tryon, Governor. 1775, June—1780, March.

James Robertson, Governor. 1780, March—1783, April.

Andrew Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor from April 17, 1783, until the British evacuation of New York and the assumption of state authority, November 25, 1783.

THE STATE.

The Revolution found New York ready for statehood. An experience of eighty-five years in organized government under the best forms known to political science had prepared the colony for independence, and the transition from a colony to a state became comparatively simple.

As an instance of the ease with which this transition was effected it may be observed that the colony had a fully organized supreme court. The first Constitution recognized the supreme court, but did not describe it, nor define its powers. The judicial

machinery, although in new hands, apparently continued as if there had been no change of government. I have read that in one of the river counties, I believe it is in Dutchess county, the record of the last term of the colonial supreme court in that county is followed on the next page by the record of the first term of the state supreme court, but without any suggestion that between these two events a great revolution had occurred, liberty had been proclaimed throughout the land, a new nation had been born, and a new state established and the course of history irrevocably altered.

The people had long been familiar with the office of governor and the functions usually pertaining to it. The legislative history had been substantially uninterrupted since the revival of the Assembly in 1691, and that body had increased from eighteen members to thirty-one members at the close of the colonial period, and the Council, which possessed the legislative authority afterwards vested in the Senate, consisted of twelve members. These bodies, with the governor, constituted a complete parliamentary system according to the English model.

The extraordinary growth of the colony is manifest when we remember that the population had increased from 400 in 1641, to 182,251 in 1774, according to an estimate made by Governor Tryon based on the official census of 1771, which showed a population of 168,007. According to that census New York City had a population in 1771 of 18,726 whites and 3,137 blacks, in all, 21,863, and at the beginning of the Revolution the population of the city was probably at least 25,000. The colony possessed abundant materials for the building of a state.

One of the ablest and most valuable of the political documents in our history is a report made by Governor Tryon in 1774, on a series of questions propounded by the home government relative to colonial affairs. These inquiries are included in a document bearing date July 5, 1773, and included twenty-one questions besides one applicable only to West Florida. It was addressed by the home government to the various colonial governors, and was obviously intended to elicit information concerning actual conditions in the American colonies.

Governor Tryon, speaking for New York, made an elaborate report which bears date June 11, 1774. He was then in London on leave of absence from the colony. The limits of this paper will not permit even a summary of this important document, but I quote the portion relating to the executive department. In response to the question "What is the Constitution of the Government?", Governor Tryon refers to the proprietary government of the Duke of York and its merger in the Crown on his accession to the throne and says:

"From that time it has been a Royal Government, and in its constitution nearly resembles that of Great Britain and the other Royal Governments in America. The Governor is appointed by the King during his Royal Will and pleasure by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain with very ample Powers.—He has a Council in Imitation of His Majesty's Privy Council.—This Board when full consists of Twelve Members who are also appointed by the Crown during Will and Pleasure; any three of whom make a Quorum.—The Province enjoys a Legislative Body which consists of the Governor as the King's Representative; the Council in place of the House of Lords, and the Representatives of the People, who are chosen as in England:"

After stating the apportionment of the Assembly the Governor continues:

"The Governor by his commission is authorized to convene then with the advice of the Council, and adjourn, prorogue or dissolve the General Assembly as he shall judge necessary.

This body has not power to make any Laws repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of Great Britain. All Laws proposed to be made by this Provincial Legislature, pass thro' each of the Houses of Council and Assembly, as Bills do thro' the House of Commons and House of Lords in England, and the Governor has a Negative voice in the making and passing all such Laws. Every law so passed is to be transmitted to His Majesty under the Great Seal of the Province, within three Months or sooner after the making thereof and a Duplicate

by the next Conveyance, in order to be approved or disallowed by His Majesty; And if His Majesty shall disallow any such Law and the same is signified to the Governor under the Royal Sign Manual or by Order of his Majesty's Privy Council, from thenceforth such law becomes utterly void.—A Law of the Province has limited the duration of the Assembly to seven years.

The Common Law of England is considered as the Fundamental law of the Province and it is the received Doctrine that all the Statutes (not local in their Nature, and which can be fitly applied to the circumstances of the Colony) enacted before the Province had a Legislature, are binding upon the Colony; but that Statutes passed since do not effect the Colony, unless by being specially named, such appears to be the intention of the British Legislature."

The Governor then describes the judicial system of the colony and names the counties into which the colony was divided.

"As to the Military power of the Province, the Governor for the time being is the Captain General and Commander in Chief and appoints all the Provincial Military Officers during pleasure."

Gubernatorial succession was provided for. In case of a vacancy in the office of governor and lieutenant—governor, or the absence or inability of these officers to act, the eldest councilor whose name was first placed in the instructions, and who, at the time of the vacancy, was residing in the colony, was to assume and exercise the executive office until the vacancy should be filled. The commission gave the governor little opportunity for the exercise of arbitrary power, for it was expressly provided that he should administer public affairs according to the terms of the commission and the instructions, and also "according to such reasonable laws and statutes as are now in force or hereafter shall be made and agreed upon" by the colonial legislature. The commission contains several details of an administrative character which need not be noticed here.

Here we have in brief a summary of the colonial government

at the beginning of the Revolution. With such a model it was comparatively easy for the framers of the first Constitution to erect a state government. The Assembly was elected by the people, and would continue to be so elected as the popular representative body. The executive council, which possessed both executive and legislative power, was followed by the State Senate with similar powers, and the members of this body, instead of being appointed, were to be elected by the people. The governor was also to be chosen by the people of the new state. Little was needed by way of definition or description of power. By the first Constitution "the supreme executive power and authority of the State" was vested in a governor, but his powers were then as now largely the subject of statutory regulation.*

The powers and duties of the governor have been modified from time to time by succeeding Constitutions, and it may be most convenient to consider some of the more important features of this department under separate heads, including for this purpose provisions found in different Constitutions.

QUALIFICATIONS. By the first Constitution the Governor was required to be "a wise and discreet freeholder." By the second Constitution the Governor was required to be a freeholder, a native citizen of the State, thirty years of age, and he must have been a resident of the state five years at the time of his election. An amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1845, abolished all property qualifications of public officers. The Constitution of 1846 continued the provisions relative to qualifications contained in the second Constitution, except that the governor was not required to be a freeholder, nor a native of the State. The Constitution of 1894 made no change in the qualifications of governor as established by the Constitution of 1846.

OFFICIAL TERM. The first Constitution fixed the governor's term at three years, but did not fix the date of the beginning of his term, nor define the political year. The general election law of 1778 required the election of the governor and lieutenant-governor to be held on the last Tuesday of April, and the official term was to begin on the first Monday of July following the election. In

1787 the date was changed from the first Monday to the first day of July, and this date, July 1, was thereafter the beginning of the gubernatorial term during the existence of the first Constitution.

The second Constitution, which went into effect December 31, 1822, fixed the governor's term at two years, established the political year beginning January 1, and required elections to be held in November. Subsequent Constitutions continued the provision establishing the political year, and required elections to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. An amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1874 again established the governor's term at three years, but by the Constitution of 1894 the term was once more reduced to two years.

COMMUNICATIONS TO THE LEGISLATURE. The first Constitution required the governor to inform the Legislature at every session the condition of the State with such recommendations as he might think proper, but it did not prescribe the method of communication. Following the practice with which the people had become familiar in the colonial period, and which was borrowed from the English system, the governor, at the opening of a session of the legislature, met both branches together, and delivered what is known as an opening speech, answering in form as well as in substance to the modern message. I have already referred to this practice in a former section relative to colonial affairs, and need only say here that the practice was followed during the period covered by the first Constitution.

The second Constitution, 1822, required the governor to communicate by message to the Legislature the condition of the state. This rule has been continued in subsequent Constitutions, and beginning with 1823 a formal message has been the only method by which the governor has made communications to the Legislature.

I have already pointed out in a former section that during the colonial period the Assembly, and afterwards the Council, was accustomed to prepare an address or answer to the Governor's speech. This custom was continued under the first Constitution, and sometimes owing to political or other differences between the governor and the legislature, serious controversies developed which often impeded the progress of business.

Governor DeWitt Clinton in his speech at the opening of the Legislature in January, 1820, recommended the discontinuance of an answer to the governor's speech, saying that "answers are not demanded by the Constitution nor by expediency, and besides prolonging the session, and frequently interrupting its harmony, they exhibit formality and pageantry not altogether well adapted to the simplicity of our republican institutions." At this session both houses of the Legislature adopted resolutions discontinuing the answer to the governor's speech.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1821, Peter R. Livingston, who proposed the section which required the governor's communications to the Legislature to be made by message, furnished some interesting statistics relative to the speech, the answer by the Legislature, and the Governor's reply, saying, among other things, that it had cost \$70,000 during ten or fifteen years in debate about the reply to the governor's speech, and that in 1814 the Assembly spent eleven days in discussing the propriety of an answer to the governor's speech. He also said that President Jefferson had discontinued the practice of making an opening speech in Congress, and had inaugurated the custom of sending a message.

RELATION TO LEGISLATION. The governor's relation to legislation appears in three aspects:

First. He is required by the Constitution to recommend to the Legislature such matters as he thinks proper for its consideration. This authority to recommend legislation is one of the highest attributes of the executive office, and in its proper exercise is one of the most important as well as one of the most beneficent functions of organized government. The governor, occupying the position at the center of power with opportunities practically unlimited to obtain information on all subjects relating to the public welfare, is presumed to possess a knowledge of public affairs and of the needs of the State not within the reach of officers in general, nor even of the majority of members of the Legislature. So, the annual message presents the condition of the State as affected by various aspects of social, commercial, political and educational affairs as they appear from the standpoint of the executive office.

The value of such a review by the governor cannot be over-estimated, for it affords to the people, and especially to the Legislature, an opportunity to study existing conditions and to determine whether additional legislation is needed to promote the public welfare. Special messages are frequently sent to the Legislature treating only of particular topics and recommending legislation deemed essential by the governor to correct existing evils or enhance the public interests.

The duty imposed on the governor to recommend legislation is imperative, and I believe every governor has tried to perform this duty conscientiously and with a sole desire to promote the best interest of the people of the state. A study of the messages presented by governors to the Legislature, colonial and State, covering a period of more than two centuries, convinces me that every speech and every message has been written with a due sense of official responsibility, and with a sincere purpose to establish and improve the best forms of government under republican institutions.

Every careful student of our executive history must have observed that the office of governor, as administered under modern forms, is a heritage of monarchy, but of monarchy largely stripped of absolute authority. In the old days the will of the sovereign was absolute law, but this policy was partially relaxed by grants of power and privilege made in response to petitions, resulting ultimately in the establishment of a parliamentary system by which laws were, at least in form, made by a representative body. The gradations of this development, though irregular, are perfectly obvious from the sovereign authority of the King to the policy of legislative power vested in representatives of the people.

At first the English King, as the executive head of the nation, sought the advice of representative men to aid him in framing laws or formulating policies, and although early statutes were enacted as stated on the advice of the chief men of the realm, they in form expressed simply the will of the sovereign, and the act was deemed the act of the King himself, and an expression of royal authority, rather than of the power or judgment of the people. But slowly parliamentary authority developed until statutes became not simply

an expression of the royal will, but illustration of this will approved by representatives of the people.

The modern enacting clause used in parliamentary statutes shows the present status of the sovereign in relation to legislation, thus: "Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same." This has long been the English form.

Under the colonial legislative system the source of legislative authority, as indicated by the enacting clause, was in the governor, by which it was declared that the statute was enacted by the governor with the consent and authority of the Council and the Assembly; but later the statement was changed, and at the close of the colonial period laws were declared to be enacted "By his Excellency the Governor, the Council and the General Assembly." In practice, however, laws were enacted by the Legislature, and were subject to approval by the governor.

The forms and customs of the colonial period show that the governor was deemed a constituent part of the Legislature, and at first, as already pointed out, he sat with the Council and had power to vote on the passage of bills, but after 1735 he ceased to preside in the Council. The situation in those earlier years would be reproduced if the governor should now preside in the senate with the right to vote on the passage of bills, and with a subsequent right to veto any bill passed by the Legislature.

The framers of the first Constitution and of subsequent Constitutions, intended to exclude the governor from participation in legislation as this function was exercised in earlier years, but nevertheless vested in him very essential powers, and it will be noted that through the process of evolution from the days of absolute sovereignty to our present republican form of government, the executive has kept his hand upon the legislative system, and by the veto power has controlled popular government.

One aspect of public opinion regarding recommendations by the governor may here be noted. I refer to the sentiment which

has been often conspicuously manifested during the last twenty-five years that the governor's recommendations as to particular legislation should be deemed conclusive, and ought to be followed by the Legislature without question. Some newspapers and some persons take this extreme view, and condemn the Legislature for not immediately enacting all laws recommended by the governor. Persons who entertain this view of the relation of the governor to legislation overlook the positive declaration of the Constitution that legislative power is vested in the Senate and Assembly, and that they are primarily responsible for all legislation. The Legislature is not chosen simply to register the wishes or opinions of the governor as to proposed legislation however desirable such legislation may seem to be.

The governor is commanded to make such recommendations as he thinks proper. It is clearly the duty of the Legislature to consider all such recommendations and examine them carefully with a presumption in their favor. Primarily the governor's responsibility ends with making the recommendation, and at that point the legislative responsibility begins, but there is no duty imposed on the Legislature to enact the recommendations into law, except a moral duty to enact such legislation as may be for the best interests of the people, and if satisfied that the governor's recommendations are wise and beneficent, they should be adopted.

In my study of the messages covering nearly two centuries and a quarter, I have found scores, perhaps hundreds, of instances where the governor's recommendations have been promptly adopted by the Legislature and enacted into law. Other recommendations have been adopted with modifications, and some recommendations have not received legislative action. Occasionally executive recommendations were put into statute form several years after they were made, showing the slow development of public opinion on these questions. Sometimes governors' recommendations are repeated and reiterated year after year through different administrations until legislative action is secured, or conditions arise which make the proposed legislation unwise or unnecessary.

Considering our legislative history as a whole, I think it may

fairly be said that much the larger proportion of executive recommendations as to particular legislation have been adopted and may be found in statutes of the period. Governors have appreciated the real situation as to the relations between the executive and legislative departments, and have contented themselves with making the recommendations, leaving the final action to the Legislature itself, though sometimes in subsequent messages governors have expressed regret that the recommendations have not been approved. I think it is due to the governors and legislatures to say that even where partisan differences existed between these branches of government, such differences have not been permitted to effect legislation, except as to some extreme questions of party policy.

Second. After a bill is passed it must first be submitted to the governor before it can become a law, and a bill so submitted to him cannot become a law without his approval, except that if he hold a bill ten days before the Legislature adjourns without any action, it becomes a law by lapse of time with the same force and effect as if it had been approved by the governor.

This consideration of bills by the governor is an important, and perhaps the most important, function of his office. Here he is brought into the closest relations to legislation affecting all the people, and as to the larger part of legislation his responsibility begins at this point, for while it is his duty to recommend legislation, most of the bills which come to him for consideration originate in the Legislature directly, without any previous executive recommendation, and, at least in theory, the subject of legislation is first presented to him in the form of a bill. The study of bills for the purpose of determining whether they ought to be approved therefore becomes an important feature of executive service, and it has frequently happened that the governor has been unable to give bills the examination required by the importance of the subjects involved. If, as already pointed out, recommendations by the governor are entitled to the presumption of a favorable consideration by the Legislature, perhaps the counter presumption is equally valid that bills passed by the Legislature are entitled to the presumption of favorable executive consideration. Most governors

have taken this view, and, especially in doubtful cases, have given the bill the benefit of the doubt on the theory, as expressed by the governor, that the subject of the bill being within the purview of the Legislature, and that body having deemed it wise to pass the bill, it was the duty of the governor to approve it. Even as to bills involving supposed constitutional questions, some governors have said that if a bill proposes to enact into law a sound principle of public policy, it should be approved, leaving the question of constitutionality to be determined by the courts.

At this point, namely, consideration of bills, the veto power is applied, which affords an opportunity for an expression of the governor's disapproval with his reasons. This subject will be considered under the section on the veto power.

It should not be overlooked that while the Legislature is in session, it possesses absolute power as to the enactment of laws, and may pass any bill over the governor's veto. But under the rule which enables the governor to consider bills after adjournment of the Legislature, which was put into constitutional form by an amendment adopted in 1874, establishing the thirty day period, the relation between the governor and the Legislature as to pending bills is reversed, for after the Legislature adjourns no bill can become a law without the approval of the governor. Many bills are left in the hands of the governor by the Legislature on adjournment, and by the operation of the rule just stated the governor's control of legislation becomes absolute.

Here again we discover the heritage of monarchy in the executive office already mentioned. The governor is not only the executive head of the State, but he is also in a very large degree, and at times indisputably so, the legislative head of the State with power to declare what laws shall or shall not become effective. His approval of bills after their passage is not only asked and expected, but frequently his advice is sought on pending bills for the purpose of ascertaining beforehand, if possible, whether a bill if passed is likely to receive his approval. This situation presents to us glimpses of the forms, and sometimes of the spirit of early days of absolutism when the will of the sovereign, represented in our day

by the governor or the President, must be ascertained instead of the will of the Legislature, which, at least in form, is the law-making body.

But while we have declared that the legislative power is vested in the Senate and Assembly, and that all laws must first be passed by the Legislature, and no law can be passed by the Governor, we have also declared the salutary principle that the action of the Legislature is not conclusive, at least in the first instances, but is subject to review and approval by the Governor. This principle was even more significantly expressed in the first Constitution, which vested in the Council of Revision power to "revise" bills, and the extent of such possible revision by the Council was not expressed nor limited. It was a part of the system, continued with modifications in subsequent Constitutions, of so-called checks and balances by which one department might check another, so that while the Legislature was primarily responsible for the passage of laws, and these laws were subject to the governor's approval, they were subjected to still further and final veto by the courts if deemed unconstitutional. So while one house of the Legislature may prevent the consummation of plans proposed by the other house, which is often illustrated by actual experience, the governor may, and it is his duty, to prevent unwise, defective or unconstitutional legislation.

Studying the origin and evolution of principles, it is worth while to remember that our republican form of government has come up from the days of absolute power through gradual processes to the present enlarged and comprehensive system, which, when, judiciously and intelligently administered, illustrates the best ideals of government by the people under representative forms. The governor of the State not only stands in the place of the governor of the colony, but he takes even higher rank, for he stands in the place of the sovereign in a limited monarchy.

Third. The governor must "take care that the laws are faithfully executed." This is an expression of executive power in its highest form which, by the Constitution, is vested in the governor. He is the executive head of the State; its chief admin-

istrative officer, and in a broad sense all executive and administrative officers in the State are subordinate to him and subject directly or indirectly to his supervision. His relation to legislation in its initial stages as a subject of his own recommendation, and as embodied in bills passed by the Legislature, has already been considered, and, except as to bills passed over his veto, laws have received his approval either directly by his signature, or indirectly by the lapse of ten days. This situation, however, applies only to laws passed during his own term, but he is bound to execute the laws as he finds them on coming into office, so the whole body of previous legislation imposes on him the responsibility of its execution. It is a serious duty, and sometimes requires the very highest exercise of executive discretion in applying laws to the varying conditions of society.

The paternal character of the office of governor is often curiously manifested by communications received by him requesting aid in merely private matters. Personal grievances are often submitted to him for adjustment, including controversies with neighbors, questions relating to inheritances in the rights of property, and family affairs. Here we may perceive another application of hereditary traditions relating to sovereign power, for many of the questions submitted to the governor bear a close resemblance to the problems presented to David and Solomon and other Hebrew rulers in the days when the King was deemed the Father of his people.

VETO POWER. The framers of the first Constitution were not quite prepared to vest in the governor the sole power to veto bills passed by the Legislature. They had the colonial example before them, under which the governor possessed the power of veto; and his veto was final, for the colonial Legislature had no power to pass a bill over the governor's veto.

The men who made the first Constitution evidently intended to vest ultimate legislative power in the Legislature, for it gave that body the right to pass a law over a veto, but the governor could not act alone in determining whether a bill should receive executive approval.

The Constitution created a Council of Revision, composed of the governor, chancellor and judges of the Supreme Court. Every bill passed by the Legislature was first to be submitted to this Council for "their revisal and consideration," and if "upon such revision and consideration, it should appear improper to the said council, or a majority of them, that the said bill should become a law of this State, that they return the same, together with their objections thereto, in writing" to the house in which the bill originated. A bill might be passed over the veto by a vote of two-thirds in each house. The article contained other details relative to bills, but they need not be mentioned here.

The objection to this arrangement, which was afterwards seriously felt, was the association of the judicial department in the business of making laws. By means of the Council of Revision all of the three great departments of the government, executive legislative and judicial, were to have a part in the enactment of laws. The powers vested in the judges by this article were sufficient to authorize them to determine not only questions of form and constitutionality, but also the substance and policy of legislation. They determined not only questions of constitutional validity, but also questions of expediency. I believe that an examination of the work of the Council of Revision will show that its work was wisely performed, that the judges acted with a due sense of their responsibility, and not with any desire to promote or prevent legislation. By the practical operation of the article the governor possessed only one-fifth of the power vested in the Council. He presided over its deliberations and took part in determining the questions submitted to it.

The records of the Council show that the duty of preparing a report on a bill was assigned to one of the judicial members of the Council. If the bill was disapproved it was customary for the judge who had prepared the report to present the same in person to the house in which the bill originated. This was not called a veto, but was characterized as "objections," although it was in form similar to the modern veto. In effect, it was a judicial opinion. The vetoes or objections under the first Constitution may be read with as much interest and profit as judicial opinions rendered by the

same judges in ordinary legal proceedings. Notwithstanding the fact that bills were sometimes declared unconstitutional by the Council, which in effect was a judicial determination of the question, the Legislature frequently passed bills over the objections.

The Council of Revision was abolished by the Constitutional Convention of 1821. From the debates of the Convention on the proposition to abolish the Council it may fairly be inferred, I think, that if the judges had limited their action on bills to questions of validity, the judicial department might have continued to be an aid to legislation, and might have rendered valuable assistance to the governor and the Legislature in determining in advance questions relating to the validity of proposed legislation. By the abolition of the Council and the elimination of the judges from any part in the enactment of laws, the governor and the Legislature were charged with the entire responsibility of determining, in the first instance, whether a proposed law was constitutional, and the judges could not consider the question until it should come before them in a concrete case.

On this point it may be worth while to recall the fact that in 1872 Governor Hoffman submitted to the Court of Appeals a question relating to the possible construction of a bill pending before him, but he did not ask any opinion on the question of constitutionality. The Court of Appeals, speaking through Chief Judge Church, replied, suggesting that there might be doubt as to the construction of the law if it should go into effect. This correspondence resulted in a veto of the bill and the passage of a new bill on the same subject, which became a law.

In 1890, Governor Hill in a special message to the Legislature relative to the proposed ballot reform act, recommended that the bill be submitted to the Court of Appeals for an opinion as to its constitutionality. In the Senate the proposition was submitted to the judiciary committee which reported adversely on the governor's recommendation. The bill was not submitted to the court.

The second Constitution, 1822, vested in the governor the sole power to veto bills, and this rule has been followed in subsequent Constitutions.

Under the first and second Constitutions bills were often passed over the veto, but during the last half century instances of such second passage of bills by the Legislature are rare. The governor's veto is usually regarded as conclusive, except that in cases where amendments are practicable, vetoed bills are frequently amended, passed again, and in the new form receive executive approval. Objections to form, and sometimes to substance, not being constitutional or necessarily fatal to the bill, are often pointed out by the governor in his veto message, and the legislation is accordingly perfected by an amended bill.

MILITARY AUTHORITY. The governor is not only the executive head of the State, but he is also its military head by virtue of the provision of the Constitution making him Commander-in-Chief of its military and naval forces. This combined civil and military authority seems to be necessary in every well organized government. Military power is often needed to enforce civil authority. The nations have learned by experience that the head of the state should combine in himself both kinds of authority, civil and military.

The governor, as already noted, is required to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. Sometimes it is necessary to resort to military authority; therefore, as governor, he may call on the military forces of the state to aid in the execution of civil laws. The statutes contain detailed regulations concerning the use of military power in the State, and the governor is at the head of the military department. Thus, by operation of his general constitutional powers, he stands at the head of all civil and administrative officers, and also at the head of all military officers.

PARDONING POWER. I have already pointed out that under the colonial system the governor's pardoning power did not extend to cases of treason and murder. The same rule was applied under the first Constitution, which in these excepted cases vested the pardoning power in the Legislature. The legislative records during the period covered by the first Constitution show that convictions in trials for murder were reported by the Governor to the Legislature for its action. Thirty cases were so reported.

The Legislature granted twenty-one pardons, commuted four sentences to life imprisonment, one sentence to imprisonment for five years, directed the execution of three sentences, and in one case declined to take any action. It is impossible to conjecture what the result might have been in these cases if the governor had possessed the pardoning power.

The second Constitution conferred on the governor full pardoning power, except in cases of treason and impeachment. This provision has been continued in subsequent Constitutions.

APPOINTMENTS. The only state officers whose election by the people was provided for in the first Constitution were the governor, lieutenant-governor, senators and members of Assembly.

Following colonial custom, and acting probably also largely on their own experience, the framers of that Constitution tried to devise a scheme of appointments without resorting to popular elections. The proposition at first took several forms, including one providing for appointments by the Legislature, but this received little support. After considerable discussion a section was prepared and proposed by John Jay, afterwards governor, which with modifications became Article 23 of the first Constitution. It provided for a Council of Appointment composed of four senators, one from each Senate district, to be chosen by the Assembly. The governor, or other executive head of the State, was to preside in the Council and have a casting voice but no other vote; and, with the advice and consent of the Council, was to appoint all officers whose appointment was not otherwise provided for by the Constitution.

Early in the history of that period a question arose as to the right of nomination, the governor claiming the right to nominate and the Senate members of the Council claiming an equal right of nomination. Governor Jay, the framer of the section, always claimed that the governor had the exclusive right of nomination. Governor George Clinton, during the eighteen years of his gubernatorial service prior to the election of Governor Jay, frequently asserted the governor's right of nomination.

On Governor Jay's accession in 1795 an issue was raised between him and the Senate members of the Council as to the right

of nomination, Governor Jay claiming the exclusive right. In his speech at the opening of the Legislature in January, 1796, Governor Jay alluded to this section and the question relating to the right of nomination, and suggested that the Legislature pass a declaratory act construing this provision of the Constitution. No action was taken by the Legislature at that session, and the subject was not again referred to by the Governor until 1801, when he again called the attention of the Legislature to the serious differences between the governor and the other members of the Council over the right of nomination. Various resolutions were passed by the Legislature, but no relief was afforded by any of them. One result of the controversy was the practical cessation of business by the Council, as a consequence of which several offices remained vacant.

In 1801, while this subject was pending in the Legislature, Governor Jay requested the opinion of the Chancellor and judges of the Supreme Court concerning the proper construction of Article 23 as to the right of nomination, but they declined to express any opinion, on the ground that it was not expedient for them to act judicially except upon a concrete case which might be presented to them in the ordinary way.

The result of the discussion was an act of the Legislature in 1801, providing for a constitutional convention to consider and report on the proper construction of this article, and also on the organization of the Legislature. The differences of opinion concerning the appointment section doubtless constituted the chief reason for this Convention. A resolution was adopted by the Convention declaring that the right of nomination was possessed and might be exercised concurrently by the governor and by each member of the Council. This action made the Council a very powerful political machine, and at the time of its abolition in 1821, its appointment list numbered some fifteen thousand officers, whose salaries aggregated \$1,000,000. The Council was abolished by the Convention of 1821.

The second Constitution distributed the power of appointment, some appointments were to be made by the governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate; some by the Legislature, and some by

local authorities. Officers already elective were to continue to be elective, and new offices might be filled by election or appointment as determined by the Legislature.

The Constitution of 1846 materially enlarged the elective policy under what Governor Tilden aptly described as the dispersion of power, giving the people wider opportunities for the selection of officers. Appointments to fill vacancies in elective offices were to be made by the governor in a large number of cases, in addition to many original appointments, and the Senate was still vested in most cases with the power of confirmation. The same general policy was continued by the Constitution of 1894.

Considering the subject as a whole, including appointments which the governor may make under the Constitution and under various statutes enacted from time to time creating offices, this field of executive jurisdiction is very large and devolves on the governor the important, and often very delicate, responsibility of selecting high judicial, military and administrative officers, and also many local officers, especially to fill vacancies.

POWER OF REMOVAL. The power of removal is a necessary corollary to the power of appointment. It is a political power in the highest sense, for it relates directly to the stability and administration of the government. Public officers sometimes prove delinquent and somewhere the power must exist to remove them and provide for the appointment of others who will properly perform the duties of the office. This power is sovereign and may be exercised not only as to persons appointed to office by some higher authority, but also as to persons elected by the people.

We have a system of impeachments with a trial by the court of impeachments, and also the procedure for the removal of officers by the Senate, or by both branches of the Legislature, and by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. These methods of procedure, and the power of removal vested in the governor, all involve the same principle, for a removal by the governor is no less an impeachment in fact than a formal impeachment by the Assembly under the regulations prescribed by the Constitution. All of these

different methods seek the same result, namely, the exclusion of a delinquent officer from his office.

The governor's power of removal is vested in him by various provisions of the Constitution and also by numerous statutes. Sometimes the Constitution or statute provides for the appointment of a superior officer or head of a department by the governor, at the same time vesting in this head the power to appoint his subordinates with the accompanying power of removal. In these cases the governor may not directly remove one of these subordinate officers, but in case of mal-administration he may demand the removal of such a subordinate by the head of the department, and in case of a failure to comply with this demand, the governor may call the head of the department to account for a violation of a public duty. This the governor may do not only under the general authority and duty to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, but if he has authority to remove the head of a department, his power of removal is not limited to cases of direct delinquency by the officer, but may be extended to cases where that officer neglects the proper administration of his own department by continuing in office delinquent subordinates.

The governor's power of removal is strictly executive and is not subject to review by the courts except on questions of jurisdiction; that is to say, if the governor has jurisdiction of the case and the procedure prescribed by the Constitution and statutes has been complied with, the governor's decision is not subject to review or appeal. It is an exercise of sovereign power, and is conclusive on all persons and on all other departments of the government.

Another aspect of the power of removal was involved in a case which arose during Governor Morton's administration when Mr. Broderick, an employee in the Department of Public Buildings, who had been removed from office by the trustees, sought a writ of mandamus against the governor and the other trustees to compel his reinstatement; but the Court of Appeals held (156 N. Y. 136) that the writ could not issue against the governor, declaring that "the writ never issues to the executive or legislative branches of the government, nor to the judicial branch having general and

final jurisdiction. The only way in which a mandamus can be enforced is by the commitment of the party who refuses to obey its commands as for a contempt. But the courts have no power to commit the governor for a contempt. They have no power over his person. He may be impeached, but there is no other way in which he may be deprived of his office."

A similar principle was involved in the case of Smith (166 N. Y. 462) an officer of the National Guard, who was removed on the order of Governor Roosevelt based on the decision of an examining board. It was held by the Court of Appeals that the supreme court had power to review the action of the examining board, by the writ of certiorari, but that the governor was not a proper party to the proceeding, for the reason that his action was executive, and therefore not subject to review by the writ of certiorari, which is only directed to inferior judicial tribunals. The court say that "while we cannot touch the person of the governor, we can pass upon the effect of his acts and decide whether they are valid or invalid."

STATE EXECUTIVES.

The following is a list of governors and acting governors from the organization of the State down to the present time, with their terms of service:

George Clinton, Governor. 1777—1795.

John Jay, Governor. 1795—1801.

George Clinton, Governor. 1801—1804.

Morgan Lewis, Governor. 1804—1807.

Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor. 1807—1817, February 24.

John Tayler, Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor. 1817.

February 24 to June.

DeWitt Clinton, Governor. 1817—1822, December.

Joseph C. Yates, Governor. 1823—1824.

DeWitt Clinton, Governor. 1825—1828, February 11.

Nathaniel Pitcher, Lieutenant-Governor and Acting-Governor,

1828, February 11 to December.

Martin Van Buren, Governor. 1829, January to March 12.
Enos T. Throop, Lieutenant-Governor and Acting-Governor,
March 12, 1829 to 1830, December.
Enos T. Throop, Governor. 1831—1832.
William L. Marey, Governor. 1833—1838.
William H. Seward, Governor. 1839—1842.
William C. Bouck, Governor. 1843—1844.
Silas Wright, Governor. 1845—1846.
John Young, Governor. 1847—1848.
Hamilton Fish, Governor. 1849—1850.
Washington Hunt, Governor. 1851—1852.
Horatio Seymour, Governor. 1853—1854.
Myron H. Clark, Governor. 1855—1856.
John A. King, Governor. 1857—1858.
Edwin D. Morgan, Governor. 1859—1862.
Horatio Seymour, Governor. 1863—1864.
Reuben E. Fenton, Governor. 1865—1868.
John T. Hoffman, Governor. 1869—1872.
John A. Dix, Governor. 1873—1874.
Samuel J. Tilden, Governor. 1875—1876.
Lucius Robinson, Governor. 1877—1879.
Alonzo B. Cornell, Governor. 1880—1882.
Grover Cleveland, Governor. 1883—1885, January 6.
David B. Hill, Governor. 1885, January 6—1891, December.
Roswell P. Flower, Governor. 1892—1894.
Levi P. Morton, Governor. 1895—1896.
Frank S. Black, Governor. 1897—1898.
Theodore Roosevelt, Governor. 1899—1900.
Benjamin B. Odell, Jr. Governor. 1901—1904.
Frank W. Higgins, Governor. 1905—1906.
Charles E. Hughes, Governor. 1907—

It will be seen from the foregoing list that the State has had thirty-six governors or acting governors since its organization in 1777. Thirty-four were elected to the office. Four lieutenant-governors have become acting governors: two of these, Enos T. Throop and David B. Hill, were afterwards elected to the office of governor; two others, John Tayler and Nathaniel Pitcher, became acting

governor by succession and did not receive the full title of the office.

Lieutenant-Governor Tayler came to the executive office in 1817, following the resignation of Governor Tompkins, who had been elected Vice-President. Lieutenant-Governor Pitcher became acting governor on the death of Governor DeWitt Clinton, February 11, 1828. Lieutenant-Governor Throop became acting governor March 12, 1829, on the resignation of Governor Van Buren, who left the governorship to become Secretary of State in President Jackson's cabinet. None of these three lieutenant-governors took the oath of office as governor, but executed the duties of the office under the general authority conferred on them as lieutenant-governor. In 1830 Mr. Throop was elected to the office of governor. Lieutenant-Governor Hill, on the resignation of Governor Cleveland, January 6, 1885, immediately took the oath of office as governor, and was elected to the office that year, 1885, and again in 1888.

Three governors have resigned the office, namely, Governor Tompkins to become Vice-President; Governor Van Buren, to become Secretary of State, Governor Cleveland to become President of the United States. One Governor, DeWitt Clinton, died in office.

Governor George Clinton had the longest term of service, 21 years, and Governor Van Buren the shortest, two months and twelve days. As to Governor Van Buren's short service it may be worth while to remember that according to the political history of that period it was well understood during the campaign of 1828 that if Andrew Jackson should be elected President, Mr. Van Buren would be appointed Secretary of State in his cabinet, therefore the nomination of lieutenant-governor as an associate on the ticket with Mr. Van Buren, the candidate for governor, was made with the probability in view that if the ticket were successful the lieutenant-governor would become acting governor early in the administration. Mr. Throop was nominated for the office of lieutenant-governor with this expectation. Accordingly, persons who voted this ticket in 1828 might have been deemed to be voting for two candidates for governor, one to hold the office a few months, and the other for the remainder of the term. The people manifestly approved Mr.

Throop's administration, for at the end of his service as acting-governor he was elected to the office of governor and served two years with the full title of the office.

It is a noteworthy fact that only five persons were elected to the office of governor under the first Constitution covering a period of forty-five years, namely, George Clinton, John Jay, Morgan Lewis, Daniel D. Tompkins and DeWitt Clinton.

Governor George Clinton was in office twenty-one years. Governor Tompkins was in office from July 1, 1807, to February 24, 1817, nearly ten years. Governor DeWitt Clinton held the office first from July 1, 1817, until December 31, 1822, five years and six months; and in his second incumbency, from January 1, 1825, until February 11, 1828, a little more than three years; making his total service a few more days than eight years and seven months. In this connection it should be noted that Governor DeWitt Clinton's second term, to which he was elected in April, 1820, would have expired on the 30th of June, 1823, under the first Constitution, but his term was shortened six months by the second Constitution, which went into effect December 31, 1822, and which established the political year beginning January 1. The first governor under the second Constitution was elected in November, 1822. Governor Hill held the office seven years, lacking five days. Governor Jay and Governor Marcy each held the office six years. Governors Seward, Seymour, Morgan, Fenton, Hoffman and Odell each held the office four years. Governors Lewis, Robinson, Cornell and Flower each held the office three years. Governor Throop became acting governor on the resignation of Governor Van Buren in March, 1829, and was elected in 1830, holding the office nearly four years. Governor Cleveland was in office two years and six days; Governor Van Buren, two months and twelve days. Of the others, fourteen held the office two years each. Governor Hughes was elected in 1906 and again in 1908. His second term will expire December 31, 1910.

SOME NOTABLE EVENTS.

It would be interesting to present here a review of the administrations of the different governors, not only of the State, but during the colonial period, but the length to which this paper has already grown precludes the consideration of such matters at this time. Our executive history abounds in events and incidents which cannot fail to excite the admiration and pride of every citizen, but an analysis of the different administrations with personal and political history must be reserved for another occasion.

In view of the circumstances under which this paper has been prepared, it seemed best to consider for the most part the office of governor, its powers, functions, duties and responsibilities, with the names of those who have occupied this place of honor during our entire history. But without going into much detail, it may be worth while to recall a few of the more important events during our state history.

New York has made much history since or during the one hundred thirty-two years that have elapsed since the first Convention gave to the people a new Constitution and organized a new State. Events have been unrolled like a scroll in the evolution of human destiny as one administration has followed another in the progress of our development, and as we look back over the years, we cannot fail to discover here and there movements and achievements of special interest, and we naturally associate with them the names of the men under whose guiding hand so much has been accomplished.

Thus, we think of the Revolutionary War, and we recall the name of Governor George Clinton, whose administration covered not only that eventful period, but who continued at the helm of state long enough to see the new commonwealth firmly established, the Constitution of the United States framed and adopted, Washington inaugurated, and an orderly government established in the new Nation. He also saw many perplexing questions of state and national importance judiciously settled and foundations of republican institutions firmly established, and he aided in the estab-

lishment of the state university and an experimental system of common schools.

During Governor Jay's administration the office of state comptroller was created and the State Capital was finally located at Albany. I have already pointed out that during this administration the controversy between the governor and the Senate members of the Council of Appointment culminated in an act calling a convention, which adopted a declaratory resolution giving to the Senate members of the Council the same right of nomination which had previously been claimed as exclusive by the governor.

Governor Lewis aided in the establishment of the common school fund which was afterwards made permanent and inviolate by its inclusion in the Constitution.

Governor Tompkins guided the affairs of State through the War of 1812, and aided in establishing a permanent system of common schools, in the abolition of slavery in New York and the inauguration of a policy of canal construction which has meant so much in the subsequent history of the State.

DeWitt Clinton became governor on the 1st day of July, 1817, and three days later, July 4, at Rome, with elaborate ceremonies, ground was broken for the construction of the Erie canal. The work of canal construction was pushed with vigor while he was in office. Retiring from office on the adoption of the second Constitution, he again became canal commissioner, from which office he was summarily removed by the Legislature in 1824, only an hour or two before its adjournment. The people evidently resented this removal, for at the election in that year he was again elected governor. It was, therefore, his fortune to be in office on the completion of the canal in 1825, and he was a passenger on the first canal boat, the Seneca Chief, which left Buffalo on the 26th of October and arrived in New York on the 4th of November, making a trip of 513 miles. Other important and interesting events occurred during Governor Clinton's administration including the establishment of the State Library in 1818, the Constitutional Convention of 1821, and the enactment of the larger part of the Revised Statutes in 1827 and 1828. But above all others his name is most intimately

associated with the policy of internal improvements, and especially of canal construction.

Governor Yates came into office with the second Consitution, which made many radical and important changes in the fundamental law. These changes required much new legislation and Governor Yates, who had previously served some fourteen years in the Supreme Court, rendered valuable aid in shaping the policies and statutes rendered necessary to comply with new conditions presented by the Constitution.

Governor Van Buren found the people of the State seriously agitated concerning the stability of our banking institutions, and in a quite elaborate discussion in his annual message he recommended legislation intended to put banks on a better foundation. The discussion resulted in the enactment, at the same session but after he had resigned, of the safety fund act of 1829, which was an important element in our financial history. This act was reviewed and considered by Congress during the discussion of the currency act of 1908.

Governor Throop's administration was largely occupied with routine matters. The Revised Statutes had just gone into effect and several State departments had recently been reorganized. The policy of canal construction was continued, several railroad companies were incorporated and the general plan of internal improvements received the cordial encouragement of the governor and the Legislature. No very striking incidents characterized this administration.

The financial situation was a frequent subject of discussion by Governor Marcy in his messages. The panic of 1834-1835, the receipt by the State of its share of the United States Deposit Fund, and the enactment of the free banking law of 1838 are important incidents of this administration.

The anti-rent troubles, resulting from the feudal and manorial policies established under the grants in early times to Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and others, culminated in open defiance of the law during Governor Seward's administration and it became necessary for him to call out the militia to suppress the disturbances. Gover-

nor Seward's administration is peculiarly marked by his attitude on the subject of slavery. He refused to surrender persons demanded by the State of Virginia on the charge of abducting a negro slave in that state, on the ground, as stated by Governor Seward, that the offence was not recognized as a crime by the laws of this State nor by the law of Nations, and therefore, was not a proper subject of extradition. There was considerable discussion between the executives of the two States, but Governor Seward adhered to his position and refused to surrender the alleged fugitives. His arguments are interesting reading, and in them he took the same high ground which afterwards made him such a conspicuous advocate of the anti-slavery policy.

Governor Bouck, who was the only farmer governor the State has had, saw the transfer of the State Library to the custody of the Regents of the University, a step which has meant much in the growth and development of one of our greatest and most valuable institutions, and also the establishment of the Albany Normal School, the first of its kind in the State.

Governor Wright's administration was marked by a recurrence of the anti-rent troubles, during which Delaware county was declared to be in a state of insurrection, one deputy sheriff was murdered, and other outrages committed during the prevalence of the disturbances. Legislation was enacted intended to relieve the situation presented by the Van Rensselaer system of land titles, and the Constitutional Convention of 1846 was held, which, among other things, adopted a provision limiting agricultural leases to twelve years. This Convention again illustrated the broadening tendencies of the times by enlarging the scope of popular elections, reducing the number of officers to be appointed, and carrying the right of choice by the people almost to the limit. The policies established by that Constitution have continued almost without change. The annexation of Texas and the Mexican War were important national events during this administration.

Governor Young came into office with the third Constitution, and to him was presented the opportunity of aiding in preparing legislation needed to carry into effect the new constitutional provisions relating to administration in various state departments.

Hamilton Fish was the first governor elected under the third Constitution, and assumed the duties of the office on the 1st of January, 1849. His administration was rather uneventful, but we may note in particular the passage of the free school act in 1849, intended to enlarge the scope of common school opportunities, which act was submitted to the people for approval, but this submission was declared to be unconstitutional on the ground that it is the duty of the Legislature to make the laws, and this legislative power cannot be delegated to the people. It was also during this administration that the State acquired Washington's headquarters at Newburgh by the foreclosure of a mortgage given on a loan of money belonging to the United States Deposit Fund.

During the administration of Governor Hunt public attention was especially directed to the condition of canal finances, and from this discussion it was apparent that the canal policy included in the Constitution of 1846 was not satisfactory. An effort was made to devise a scheme for liquidating canal indebtedness by the issue of canal certificates to an amount exceeding the debt limit authorized by the Constitution, but the Court of Appeals declared the act unconstitutional as in fact creating a debt above the constitutional limit without a vote of the people. The failure of the free school act of 1849 resulted in another act on the same subject in 1851, which accomplished the same general result.

The canals, including various aspects of canal administration and finance, received special consideration during Governor Seymour's first term. He was distinctively known as an advocate of the most advanced canal policies. During his administration an amendment was adopted to the canal articles of the Constitution intended to relieve the situation, a remedy for which was sought during the administration of Governor Hunt by the issue of canal certificates. During this administration the union free school law was enacted and the office of superintendent of public instruction was created. This period, beginning a little earlier than this administration and continuing beyond it, was marked by an intense agitation on the subject of temperance and prohibition. Governor Seymour vetoed a prohibitory law, and this subject was made the

special issue in the campaign of 1854, which resulted in the defeat of Governor Seymour and the election of Myron H. Clark.

Governor Clark, as already noted, came into office on a temperance platform. A strong prohibitory law was enacted during the first year of his administration in 1855, but it was declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals.

The agitation concerning the extension of slavery, which had been one of the burning questions in national politics, producing a rearrangement of political lines and a reconstruction of political policies, resulted in the organization of the republican party, and in 1856 John A. King was the first candidate of that party for governor of New York, and was elected, taking office January 1, 1857. The temperance agitation of preceding years and the failure of the effort to establish a prohibitory policy resulted in the excise law of 1857, which reconstructed the excise system of the State. During this administration occurred the financial panic of 1857 and the suspension of specie payments. Richmond county was declared to be in a state of insurrection on account of the action of a mob in destroying quarantine buildings.

In addition to the ordinary problems relating to state affairs, Governor Morgan's administration included some of the most important events in our national history. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, the secession movement, the beginning of the war, the organization and equipment of the union army, in which New York bore a conspicuous part, imposed peculiarly delicate and important responsibilities on the governor. Merely state problems were, in large part forced into the background by the tremendous issues presented by the Civil War. One of the most far-reaching events that occurred during the period covered by this administration was the emancipation proclamation issued by President Lincoln in September, 1862.

Governor Seymour's second administration, 1863-4 found the country still engaged in the great Civil War, and it was the chief business of government to organize and equip armies and provide for their subsistence. The draft riots in New York in the summer of 1863 produced serious disturbances resulting in loss of life and

the destruction of property, and requiring strong measures by executive and military authority to restore order. With more than four hundred thousand New York men in the army, and therefore necessarily absent from home, the problem of devising a scheme by which these absent citizens could vote became a very serious one. The Legislature considered the question and passed a bill providing a method of taking the vote of absent soldiers, but it was vetoed by the governor. Relief was accomplished, however, by an amendment to the Constitution authorizing legislation to enable soldiers and sailors to vote while absent from the State in time of war.

Governor Fenton saw the close of the war, the restoration of the union and the return of New York soldiers from the field. Peace presented serious problems which required the highest wisdom of the governor and the legislature, including the readjustment of social, commercial and political conditions which had been seriously disturbed by the war. The Nation was plunged into the deepest grief by the assassination of President Lincoln just at the dawn of peace. Governor Fenton's proclamation announcing this tragic event, and the tribute paid by the State to the memory of the great martyr, were conspicuous illustrations of the spirit of patriotism which pervaded the entire community. But the state must go on with its work. The payment of military bounties during the earlier years of the war had resulted in serious complications among localities, and between such localities and the State. A general act was passed in 1865, authorizing the issue of bounty bonds to an amount not exceeding \$30,000,000. Under the Constitution the act had to be submitted to the people and it was approved. The total amount of bonds issued under this act was \$27,644,000. Provision was made for a large increase in the number of normal schools and wider opportunities for education. The people, under the Constitution, voted in 1866 to hold a Constitutional Convention which was chosen in 1867, and held during the latter part of that year and the early part of 1868. Its roll of delegates contains the names of a large number of the greatest men that have adorned the history of New York, but the work of the Convention, except the judiciary article, was rejected by the people. During this administration the first act was passed, 1865, providing for the erection of a

new capitol. Cornell University was also established during Governor Fenton's administration.

Several important events occurred during Governor Hoffman's administration. In 1869 the new State Constitution, proposed by the Convention of 1867, was submitted to the people, but none of it was approved except the Judiciary Article. The same year the Legislature ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and the next year, 1870, a resolution was adopted by the Legislature rescinding the ratification resolution. In 1870 a general village law was enacted and provision was made for a revision of the statutes. Governor Hoffman had been mayor of New York, and in his messages to the Legislature gave considerable attention to municipal affairs. In 1870 New York received a new charter. During this administration a movement was initiated for the celebration of the centennial of American Independence to be held at Philadelphia in 1876, and Governor Hoffman took an active part in the preparations for this event. A large part of Governor Hoffman's annual message in 1872 was devoted to the subject of constitutional reform. The discussion was suggested by the failure of the Constitution proposed by the Convention of 1867, and the Governor made a large number of important recommendations, including a constitutional commission, which was created by the Legislature with power to consider and report amendments to the Constitution. During Governor Hoffman's administration there was a large amount of important legislation, but an analysis of it is impracticable here.

Early in the administration of Governor Dix the Constitutional Commission created in 1872 presented its report, recommending a large number of amendments to the Constitution. Most of these amendments were adopted by the Legislature and were approved by the people at the general election in 1874. In 1873 New York city received another charter.

Governor Tilden, besides ordinary state affairs, gave special consideration to reform in canal administration and in the government of cities, especially in the city of New York. In 1875 two important investigating commissions were created, one to investigate

the subject of canals with John Bigelow as its chairman, and the other known as the municipal reform commission with William M. Evarts as its chairman. Both commissions gave serious attention to the topics specially referred to them and both presented elaborate reports out of which came, a few years later important changes in canal administration and in the government of cities, including several amendments to the Constitution. In 1876, the second year of Governor Tilden's term, two important constitutional amendments were adopted, one making a radical change in canal administration, abolishing the office of canal commissioner and creating the office of superintendent of public works. The other amendment made an equally important change in prison administration, abolishing the office of state prison inspector, and creating the office of superintendent of state prisons. Among the laws enacted during this administration may be mentioned the business corporations act of 1875, and the first thirteen chapters of the new Code of Civil procedure in 1876.

To Governor Robinson was assigned the task of putting into operation the amendments of 1876 relating to prisons and canals. In his message to the Legislature in 1878 Governor Robinson congratulated the people on the payment of the bounty debt. Events worthy of special notice in this administration include the railroad riots in 1877, the purchase of an executive residence, and the first occupation of the new capitol by the Legislature.

Among the more important events which occurred during Governor Cornell's administration may be included the act making women eligible to school offices, the enactment of the last nine chapters of the Code of Civil Procedure, and the creation of a state railroad commission. Constitutional amendments adopted during the period covered by Governor Cornell's administration included an increase in the number of judges in the supreme court, an additional general term, provisions relating to local superior and city courts, judicial pensions, the abolition of canal tolls, and a prohibition against the disposition of certain canals. This administration was marked by political events of great significance, including the election of James A. Garfield to the presidency in 1880, his assassination in 1881, the accession of Vice-President Arthur, and the resig-

nation of Senator Conkling and Senator Platt followed by the election of other persons to represent the State in the United States Senate.

Governor Cleveland's administration was shortened by his election in 1884 to the office of President of the United States, and he resigned as governor on the 6th of January, 1885. In 1883, contract labor in prisons was abolished by vote of the people, a state civil service commission was established, and provision was made for the purchase of the Niagara Falls Reservation. In 1884 a constitutional amendment was adopted regulating the powers of municipal corporations.

Governor Hill's seven years were full of interesting incidents and events, but only a few can be mentioned here. Political differences between the governor and the Legislature retarded some measures. An enumeration of the inhabitants was due under the Constitution in 1885, but the governor and Legislature disagreed as to the scope of the enumeration. A census bill passed at the regular session was vetoed by the Governor. An extraordinary session of the Legislature was called to consider this subject, and a bill passed at that session was also vetoed. In 1886 the people voted for a constitutional convention which should have been held in 1887, but the governor and the Legislature disagreed as to the structure of the Convention, and it was not held until 1894. The question of contract labor in prisons received serious consideration during this administration. An act regulating prison labor was passed at an extraordinary session of the Legislature in 1888 and was approved by the Governor, though it was not quite satisfactory to him. In 1889 the university law was revised and a new statutory revision commission was created. In 1890 provision was made for the publication of the colonial laws. Ballot reform was a subject of serious and protracted consideration by the governor and Legislature during this administration. The discussion, which at times developed sharply defined differences between the governor and Legislature, resulted finally in the passage of the act of 1890 which was approved. I have already, in a previous paragraph, called attention to the fact that while the ballot reform bill was pending Governor Hill recommended that the Legislature submit the ques-

tion of its constitutionality to the Court of Appeals, but the Legislature declined to adopt this suggestion. A new policy of taxation was instituted in 1885 by the act providing for the taxation of collateral inheritances. In the same year an act was passed establishing the forest preserve. Labor day was made a holiday in 1887. In 1888 electrocution was adopted as the method of inflicting the death penalty, and a constitutional amendment was approved providing for a second division of the Court of Appeals. The policy of state care of insane was initiated by an act passed in 1890, and in the same year a commission was created to consider and report amendments to the judiciary article of the Constitution. The commission reported in 1891, but its recommendations were not adopted by the Legislature. The movement for the creation of Greater New York was initiated by an act passed in 1890, which provided for a commission to consider the subject and report to the Legislature.

At the beginning of Governor Flower's administration the governor and the Legislature were in political accord and it became practicable to enact legislation on certain subjects which for several years had engaged the attention of these two branches of the government, but on which there had been a radical and continuous disagreement. In 1892 an act was passed providing for an enumeration of inhabitants of the State, and an apportionment act was passed. An act was also passed at this session providing for a constitutional convention, but it was materially amended and modified in 1893, and under the new act the convention was held in 1894. In 1892 a revised excise law was enacted; in the same year the Adirondack Park was established. Several statutory revision bills were passed in this administration, including some of the most important topics presented by the commission. In 1894 the question of consolidating territory into one municipal corporation known as Greater New York was submitted to the people of the municipalities affected, and approved.

Governor Morton came into office with the Constitution of 1894. That instrument made numerous changes which required legislation to put them into operation. Considerable time was spent by the Legislature in 1895 in enacting laws for this purpose. It

became the duty of the governor to make appointments for the appellate divisions of the supreme court, which superseded the former general terms. Several state departments were reorganized, particularly the State Board of Charities and the Lunacy Commission, and a State Prison Commission was established as required by the Constitution. The provision in the Constitution prohibiting contract labor in prisons required additional legislation in regard to prison management. Important laws intended to carry into effect the constitutional provisions included an act providing for the drainage of agricultural lands, restrictions on gambling and civil service regulations. A movement to procure new arms for the National Guard resulted in the appointment of a commission, but the report was not approved by the governor. Preservation of forests under the forest preserve provision in the new Constitution, and also the preservation of the Palisades received special consideration. The Statutory Revision commission created in 1889 was continued, and several important bills reported by the commission were passed. The members of the Statutory Revision Commission were appointed, in 1895, as commissioners to revise the Code of Civil Procedure. The subject of canal improvement was included in an act providing for the expenditure of \$9,000,000 for enlargement of the canals. The act was submitted to the people and approved. An act was passed requiring instruction in the public schools concerning the effect of narcotics and stimulants, and the excise system of the State was reconstructed by the liquor tax law, from which large revenues have since been derived by the State and by localities from the sale of intoxicating liquors. The movement for the creation of Greater New York, already mentioned, was carried forward by an act providing for a commission to frame a charter for the Greater city.

Special features of legislation and public affairs during the administration of Governor Black include the Greater New York charter, the enactment of a general village law applicable to upwards of four hundred villages with a population exceeding half a million, an act requiring two civil service examinations, one to determine the merit and the other the fitness of the applicant, the completion of the new capitol, the centennial of the location of

the state capital at Albany, a new policy of forest preservation and cultivation, a commission to examine the subject of New York commerce, another commission to investigate canal administration with special reference to the expenditure of the nine millions appropriated by the act of 1895, the war with Spain, highway improvement, the creation of a metropolitan elections district, and the enactment of additional general laws prepared by the Statutory Revision Commission.

Governor Roosevelt gave special attention to the subject of canals, continuing the investigation by the appointment of special counsel and a new investigating commission. The consideration of the taxation of corporations resulted in the special franchise tax law of 1899 taxing a new kind of property under new rules and with new procedure. Special attention was given to tenement house construction and improvement, resulting in the appointment of a tenement house commission to consider the whole subject. A commission to consider the subject of unification of the University and the Department of Public Instruction was appointed, and presented its report proposing a plan of combining the two departments. Further progress was made in the movement for the preservation of the Palisades.

Governor Odell's administration, covering four years, was marked by the consolidation of several subordinate state departments with a view to greater efficiency and economy, a discontinuance of the policy of purchasing land for the forest preserve, a revised charter for Greater New York, the unification of the University and the Department of Public Instruction with the creation of the office of State Commissioner of Education, a new plan of canal improvement including the construction of a thousand ton barge canal under an act authorizing the expenditure of \$101,000,000. which was approved by the people, tenement house improvement, abolishing boards of managers of State charitable institutions, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, reception of Prince Henry of Prussia, creating the office of fiscal supervisor and free tuition in high schools. The subject of water supply was considered in 1904, resulting in the creation of a water storage commission. A board of Statutory Consolidation was created with authority to complete the

revision of the statutes which had been begun by the Commission of 1889, but was discontinued in 1900. In 1901 President McKinley was assassinated in Buffalo while attending the Pan-American Exposition.

While Governor Higgins was in office an enumeration of the inhabitants of the State was taken and an act passed reapportioning members of the Legislature, but the act was declared unconstitutional. Acts were passed taxing mortgages and transfers of stock. An extraordinary session of the Legislature was held in 1905 to consider complaints against Justice Warren B. Hooker who had requested such investigation by the Legislature. Justice Hooker was not removed. A commission was appointed to investigate the conduct of life insurance companies, which resulted in radical changes of the insurance law. In 1905 constitutional amendments were approved by the people providing for additional judges of the Supreme Court, relating to the powers of Appellate Division judges, extending the term of credit on state debts from eighteen years to fifty years, payment of state debts, highway improvement, New York water debt, and protection of employes. The Hudson-Fulton celebration was initiated during this administration under charge of a commission appointed by the governor. In April, 1906, a large part of the city of San Francisco was destroyed by an earthquake and a resulting fire. The State appropriated \$250,000 for the relief of the sufferers. In 1906 an act was passed authorizing the expenditure of \$400,000 for the purchase of land, and \$3,500,000 for the erection thereon of a building for the use of the State Library and the Department of Education. This building is now in process of erection.

Governor Hughes is now in the first year of his second term. In 1907 several commissions were established to locate charitable and other institutions and for other general state purposes including a state probation commission. Provision was made for the regulation of public utilities by the creation of two public service commissions. A new apportionment act was passed at an extraordinary session to remedy defects in the act of 1906 which had been

declared unconstitutional. Appropriations were made for expenses connected with the ter-centenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain to be observed in 1909. A marriage law license was enacted. In 1908 a state school of agriculture was established at Alfred and another at Morrisville. Provision was made for representation by the State at the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition at Seattle. An act was passed intended to suppress race track gambling. A new highway law was enacted which, among other things, created a state highway commission and provided for the establishment and construction of a system of state highways. In 1909 all the consolidated laws reported by the Board of Statutory Consolidation, except two were passed. Two great celebrations were held this year; one, the ter-centenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain, and the other commemorating the discovery of the Hudson River by Henry Hudson in 1609 and the application of steam to navigation by Robert Fulton in 1807. In both of these celebrations Governor Hughes bore a conspicuous part.

CONCLUSION.

From Cornelius Jacobsen May, 1624, first Director of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, to Charles E. Hughes, 1909, Governor of the State of New York is a far cry. The dreams of prophecy could scarce imagine the majestic progress of the State through nearly three centuries that have elapsed since the first company of Dutch settlers sailed into the harbor of New York and laid the foundations of a great state. Many books might be written, and many have been written, describing the great events in the world's history while the colony established by the Dutch West India Company was becoming an Empire.

The greatness and prosperity of the State are due in no small

part to the governors who have guided its affairs through this long period. By their patriotism and wise councils they have aided in shaping the policies which have made New York the leader among the States. The influence of many of them has gone far beyond the boundaries of the State and has become national and even international. Three governors,—Van Buren, Cleveland and Roosevelt, have been elected to the high office of President of the United States. Four others, George Clinton, DeWitt Clinton, Horatio Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden, were unsuccessful candidates for the same office. Five—George Clinton, Tompkins, Van Buren, Morton and Roosevelt—have occupied the position of Vice-President. Ten governors—DeWitt Clinton, VanBuren, Marcy, Wright, Dix, Seward, Fish, Morgan, Fenton and Hill—have been members of the United States Senate. Others have filled high diplomatic positions and have honored the State in many important trusts that have been committed to them.

Every student of our history and form of government will concede that the governor holds a very exalted position, second only to that of President of the United States. The office has always been one of great influence. I have already described to some extent the duty and responsibility of the governor in making recommendations to the Legislature, and also of his final control of legislation by the exercise of the veto power. These are illustrations of the influence which he may exert in shaping legislation and the general policies of the State. It is a high office and a legitimate object of the aspiration of any citizen.

New York has a long and distinguished line of governors, and any incumbent of the office may feel a just pride in being included in this list. As we marshal before us the executives of the colony and state who performed so well the part assigned to them in the development of free institutions, we cannot fail to appreciate the talents, patriotism and wisdom of these men who have become famous in the annals of our State.

Governor Morton, one of the wisest of our executives, in his farewell address delivered at the inauguration of Governor Black

on the 1st of January, 1897, doubtless expressed the sentiment of every incumbent of the office when he said:

“To be chosen chief magistrate of the great State of New York is a distinction which the proudest citizen may honorably covet: but while the office confers upon its incumbent a very distinguished honor, it should not be forgotten that our Constitution and laws impose upon the executive very grave duties, and also responsibilities from which the most self-confident might reasonably shrink.”

It means much that one citizen may be intrusted by his compeers with the opportunities of this great office, and no man fit for the place can fail to appreciate the solemn responsibilities imposed on him by his election. Let us hope that as we go on still higher achievements in the development and expansion of civilization the American roll of fame may always bear the names of the Governors of New York.

Albany, N. Y., October 15, 1909.

A NATIVE OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, NEW YORK, FIRST ORGANIZED AND NAMED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

HON. IRVIN W. NEAR, Hornell, N. Y.

The call made by William Bristol, Theodore M. Pomeroy, Ellis H. Roberts and others, Veterans, Founders of the Republican Party in this State, for a mass meeting to be held at Saratoga Springs, on September 14, 1904, to celebrate the semi-centennial of the party's organization, suggested to me the idea, that a brief reference to the nativity, career and achievements of the Founder and Designator of that party should be published, and again proclaimed, because he was born in Jefferson County, in "the North Country", the cradle of so many brainy people; of an ancestry resident of, and prominent and active in the events of that county, where his childhood and early mature years were spent. Alvin Earl Bovay was born in the Town of Adams, Jefferson County, New York, July 12, 1818. His mother was a daughter of Major Earl of the 55th. Regiment of New York Militia, who with a detachment of his regiment, actively participated in the affair at the mouth of Sandy Creek in May 1814, in which the British were prevented from capturing the naval stores in transit, by water, from Oswego to Sackets Harbor, and thereafter had immediate charge of the transportation of the "Big Cable", weighing nearly ten thousand pounds, by land upon the shoulders of his militia-men, to its destination. It is as unjust as it is true, that all of the credit of these successes was, and is, by the records of the War Department, given to Major Appling of the Army, and Lieutenant Woolsey of the Navy, while Earl and his militia-men, the true heroes, are not mentioned. Things are different to-day; now, the citizen-soldier has equal credit with the regular, for valor and intelligence.

Young Bovay, the name was locally pronounced "Bovee", lost his parents at an early age. He then became the ward and loving care of his maternal grandmother, the widow of Major Earl. Through her limited means and his own exertions, he attended Union Literary Society at Belleville, New York, prepared for college, and by his earnings, teaching school and manual labor, entered and graduated from Norwich University, Vermont, in 1841. He thereafter was Principal of Academies at Glens Falls and Oswego, New York, and served as Professor of Mathematics in colleges in Tennessee, and in the City of New York. He read law with the Wagers at Utica and at Brownville, New York. His grandmother had moved to, and then lived at the latter place. While here, at the insistence of his grandmother, he learned the trade of a cabinet maker, because, as she said, if he could not make a living as a lawyer, he could by his trade. He was admitted to the Bar, at Utica, July, 1846. About this time he married Miss Caroline E. Smith, in New York. Before this, his grandmother had moved to LaFargeville, New York, near the River St. Lawrence, where she lived the rest of her life, and died, attaining a great age, receiving the merited care and support of her grandson. She was a person of a cultivated mind, vigorous intellect, an omnivorous reader, and possessed a most comprehensive and retentive memory. The writer knew her well, she was an adjacent neighbor; how often she has proudly related to me the story of the career of "My grandson, Alvin Bovee", and urged me to do as he had done.

Mr. Bovay, after the ruling desire of those days, "Went West", and finally located and practiced his profession at Ripon, Wisconsin, with success and credit. He became influential in shaping the sentiment of the new community; he represented Fond du Lac County in the Legislature of Wisconsin, as a Member of Assembly in 1859-60, with honorable distinction. On the breaking out of the War between the States, he volunteered in the 19th. Wisconsin Regiment, and like his grandfather, became a Major in a regiment of citizen-soldiers, and was Provost Marshal at Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia. After the war he returned to Ripon, being largely interested in property there, and at Gladstone, North Dakota,

where he for a time resided. He afterwards resided in Brooklyn, New York. I saw Mr. Bovay in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1860, and again in Brooklyn, in 1900. The next year he went in search of health, with his daughter, Dr. Mary Bovay Colt, to California. He died at Santa Monica, in that State, on January 29, 1903, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, closing with credit a long and eventful career. His death was mentioned in only a few papers in the United States, and even in these it got but two or three lines, except in the State of Wisconsin. Seldom has there been a more striking illustration of the caprice which often governs the distribution of fame's favors.

At Ripon, Wisconsin, in meetings held on February 28, 1854, and on March 20, of the same year, while pending, and before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in the lower house of the National Legislature, when its enactment seemed inevitable, the first systematic movement made anywhere in the United States, looking to the formation of a new party based on hostility to slavery extension, was formulated. The master spirit in these gatherings was Alvin E. Bovay, a Whig Lawyer, and his associates in the movement, a Mr. Bowen, a Democrat, and a Mr. Baker, a Free-Soiler, issued a call for a public meeting to consider the alarming situation. The meeting thus called was held in a Church at Ripon, Wisconsin, February 28, 1854; a Resolution was then and there adopted, that if the Bill then pending should pass in the Senate, the old party organizations in Ripon should be cast off, and a new party be formed on the sole issue of opposition to slavery extension. Bovay, then and there proposed that the new party adopt the name Republican, which Jefferson chose for his party, founded in 1791, the progenitor of the Democratic Party of 1829, and afterwards. Jefferson was opposed to slavery extension. In the early part of Jackson's presidency, the name Democratic, which had for years been used interchangeably with Republican, displaced the original designation, Republican, and has been the title of Jefferson's party ever since. It will be noted in passing, that although the new party was in the South, universally styled the Abolition Party, yet it did not advocate the abolition of slavery, except in the District of Columbia, merely restriction to its extension.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed the Senate March 3, 1854; on the 20th. of that month, the second meeting was held at Ripon, a Committee of five, three Whigs, one Democrat and one Free-Soiler, of which Bovay was Chairman, was appointed to begin the task of forming the new party. Mr. Bovay was an intimate friend of Horace Greeley, and as early as 1852, foreseeing the fall of the Whig Party, he urged the formation of a new party, and suggested the name, Republican, for the reasons above given. That year the Whigs were overwhelmed; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill brought on the crisis. On February 26, 1854, two days before the first Ripon meeting, Bovay wrote to Horace Greeley, urging him to call on all opponents to slavery extension, to combine; to forget previous political names and organizations, "and join together, under the name I suggested to you at Lovejoy's Hotel, in 1852, I mean 'Republican'; it is the only name that will serve all purposes, present and future, the only one that will live and last." Greeley, replied doubtfully, "your plan is all right, if the people are ripe for it." Later, on June 24, 1854, he suggested in the Tribune, the name for the new political combination.

A few days before leaving for the Coast, Major Bovay said in an interview,—“It is not to be supposed that I went into the organization of the citizens of Ripon, and the country thereabouts, blindly; that has been said frequently of me and my intentions in calling the first meeting there, to protest against the actions of our representatives in Congress, and the lack of organized opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; I have each time denied it, and pointed out an abundance of evidence and living witnesses in support of my contention. I organized those men in those first meetings, with the avowed purpose of making that a national party organization; the first well defined thought and movement began there and then; this statement has never been successfully disputed, and the men who knew me in those days will well remember against what odds I had to labor.

“I consulted frequently with Bowen, who became interested in my scheme, and the result was a plan to call a mass meeting at the Congregational Church in Ripon. The meeting was quite well attended; probably all have now passed away. At this meeting, I

said, in emphatic terms, party lines must be thrown aside, the only hope for our cause was to take the power from the whig leaders, and uniting all who were against slave traffic, taking them from the ranks of the free-soilers and democrats, as well as the whigs, and leading them on under a new banner.

“That meeting of February 28, 1854, gave me encouragement, fifty-four voters were in attendance; resolutions were passed, admonishing Congress not to permit the slave trade to become established in Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri. When the Senate passed the Bill, the second meeting was called for March 20th. following, in opposition to the nefarious scheme, and expressing abhorrence of its provisions and objects. That meeting was held in the School House in Ripon; at that meeting, I again offered the name Republican, for the new party.

“The Whigs were fast losing hold, and with the election of Franklin Pierce in 1852, there was a victory for slavery; its adherents encouraged, became more active, intrusive and intolerant, the Kansas-Nebraska idea became prominent, persistent and alarming; then, I started the work of organization, on a larger scale with the men who stood by me. I again wrote to Horace Greeley, respecting the situation, and my work; he looked upon my plan with great caution, but he did much to spread the idea.”

A month before the first of Bovay's meetings the “Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States”, written by Chase of Ohio, and signed by Giddings, Sumner, Edward Wade, Gerrit Smith, Preston King and other anti-slavery men, was published, protesting against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which aimed to repeal the Missouri compromise, and to thus give slavery an equal chance with freedom in territory from which it had been excluded by the Missouri adjustment. No purpose of forming a new party, however, on these lines was avowed in that address. On May 23, 1854, three months after the first of Bovay's meetings, and a day after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in the House, thirty whig and democratic members of that body met in Washington, pledged themselves to aid in forming a new party to combat slavery extension into the

territories, and agreed that it should be called, Republican. Between Bovay's meetings and this one, many other meetings with the same object in view, were held in the free states.

On July 6, 1854, a mass meeting and state convention was held at Jackson, Michigan, at which the name Republican was adopted. Kingsley S. Bingham was there nominated for Governor, and elected at the next following election.

Later in the same month, Asher N. Cole, a veteran editor of Allegany County, New York, called a mass meeting at Friendship, in that County, which resulted in the origin of the party, in this State, and the name of Republican was there adopted. For years after, in Western New York, Mr. Cole was spoken of as the "Father of the Republican Party", but investigation has taken that title from him. He obtained this name for the proposed party from Horace Greeley, for the purpose of "trying it on the dog"; but Greeley had it urged on him, long before by Bovay.

State Conventions formally adopting the name Republican, met in Wisconsin and Vermont, July 13,—the anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787,—a week later than in Michigan; in Maine on August 7, 1854; in New York, on August 16, and September 26, 1854; in Massachusetts on September 7, of that year. Many other gatherings occurred in other of the Northern States, which were regarded as Republican gatherings, resulting from the almost unanimous feeling of indignation against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and which asserted itself at the polls during the fall of that year. The result was an overturning of the House of Representatives, and a marked inroad into the Senate. Fifteen States showed anti-slavery extension pluralities, and eleven United States Senators were elected as Republicans, or afterwards acted with the new party; the new combination succeeded in organizing the House.

At Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on February 22, 1856, a National Convention, called by the State Committee of Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Wisconsin and Michigan, was held, at which twenty-four delegates were present, the name Republican was adopted for the National Party, declared that its object and purpose

was opposition to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the extension of slavery to free territory. It selected a national committee, and called a National Convention at Philadelphia, on June 17, 1856. This convention was held as called, and General Fremont was nominated as the candidate of the Republican Party for President.

The growth of the new party was far more rapid in the west than in the east; Eastern political leaders then as now, were slower to discern the signs of the times, and anticipate the coming glories of the New Century. The half century, closing with the year 1900, may be well and fitly named the Heroic Age of the Republic.

Every native of Jefferson County and of the North Country, has a right to elation because of the birth, noble and distinguished career of this illustrious and honor-bestowing son, Major Alvin E. Bovay.

At considerable length, I have feebly attempted to perform a grateful, but long neglected task; others could have done better, and perhaps have; if I have omitted or misstated any fact, I hope to be in like manner, set right.

A RECENTLY FOUND PORTRAIT MEDALLION OF JACQUES CARTIER

BY JOHN M. CLARK,
Director of the State Museum

By way of introduction to the particular purpose of this paper it is desirable to take note of the known portraits of the famous navigator and discoverer of New France, Jacques Cartier, some of which have commonly passed as authentic pictures.

The best known of these is the painting by Riss which hangs in the Hotel de Ville of Cartier's home town, San Malo. This has been reproduced in several forms and probably the best copy of it is that given by Parkman, taken directly from the painting (*Pioneers of France in the New World*, 1899). According to Parkman this was executed in 1839. Probably most of us are familiar with this half length standing figure of the captain, resting his left arm on the solid gunwale of his caravel and his young bearded chin in his hand, his head capped with the Breton tufted hat, his flowing robe belted at the waist and hung with sword and rapier, his penetrating eyes gazing intently over the expanse of the unswept sea, and his right hand pressed flat and hard against the region of his appendix. This picture was redrawn by the Canadian artist Hamel with some quite distinct effects upon the physiognomy of the subject, and it is Hamel's picture that has been most frequently used to illustrate English books on the French occupation. In the Tross edition of the *Relation Originale* of the first or 1534 voyage* the face of this picture is reproduced as a medallion on the title page, though reversed in pose and with alterations in the expression that make it the face of a less forceful conception than the original. Indeed were it not for the positive statement of the editor that it is taken from the San Malo picture, one might doubt that both were designed to represent the same man. That of San Malo has a more copious supply of beard on cheeks and chin and a more intent and

**Relation Originale du Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*: H. Michelant and A. Ramé. Paris. Libraire Tross. 1867.



This wooden medallion, 20 inches in diameter, bears on the back the deeply carved date 1704 and the initials J. C. It was found between the outer and inner "skins" of an ancient house in the French fishing village of Cape des Rosiers, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river, November, 1908, and was the stern shield of some French vessel wrecked on that coast. The face is that of Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of Canada.





The San Malo picture of Cartier; from Parkman's reproduction

penetrating gaze in the eyes, which, in the Hamel picture, is intensified into an introspective stare. Cartier was 43 years old when he made his first voyage to New France and these two portraits represent a man of about such years and hirsuteness.

Another picture is reproduced as a medallion in Ramé's *Note sur le Manoir de Jacques Cartier*, Tross edition, 1867, published with the *Relation Originale* referred to. This is the face of an older, heavily bearded man whose locks fully sixty years have whitened. It is stated in this Tross edition that this print is in the Département des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but I am under obligations to M. de la Roncière of that bureau for the information that it is not in that collection and there seems much doubt among several writers if this was ever intended to represent Cartier.

M. de la Roncière has also called my attention to the Vallard map of eastern North America, made about or soon after 1543, whereon is a group of figures which have been supposed to represent the landing of Cartier and his crew among the Indians of Gaspé. This map has been reproduced in J. G. Kohl's *History of the Discovery of Maine* (1869) and while a curious and interesting embellishment of the map, the figures are conventional and perhaps fairly compared with the bizarre monsters which dot the land and sea on many of the old charts. It seems evident that the comment kindly made to me by Mr. H. P. Biggar expresses the proper estimate of this picture. "It must always be very doubtful," he says, "whether any of the figures in the French group on that map can be taken as representing a likeness of Jacques Cartier. They are certainly Cartier's people but we have no proof of any kind that he is among them."

Dr. Kohl gave a different interpretation of these figures, conceiving them designed to depict Roberval's occupation of Quebec.

* * *

At the mouth of the St Lawrence river, indeed at the very point on its south shore where the navigators of many generations and the marine usage of today have regarded the river as ending and the Gulf as beginning, lies Cape des Rosiers. It is an angry remnant of black rocks cut into a terrace by the waves of an older sea but sending its menacing point well out into the waters. It faces

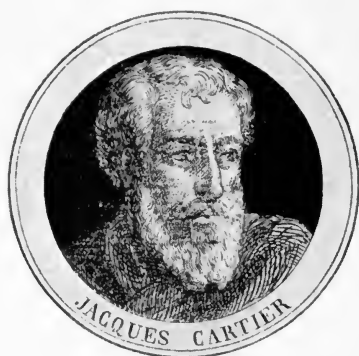
fair and full the prevailing northwest storms of the expanded river, here more than 100 miles across. Beyond it towards the Gulf lies first a little cove and fishing beach, then the limestone cliffs at once rise high and sheer in majestic escarpments along the Bon Ami rocks eastward to Cape Gaspé, the outermost point of the Gaspé coast. Behind it lower the gray bare walls of mighty Mt. St. Alban, abrupt and unscalable, their summit at 1800 feet, capped with evergreen of spruce and fur. Cape des Rosiers lies on the northern side of an unusual and fascinating spot on the Atlantic coast. The wall of mountains behind it runs six miles to the land's end and is in places but a half mile wide. It is a single range of the Appalachian mountain system sliced vertically in half. One half, the northern, the eternal sea has devoured, the other slopes by easier declivities to the water of Gaspé Bay and on its tilted sides and along its beaches life is played out in some of its gentlest and most primitive phases. Cape des Rosiers has been from the earliest days a fearful menace and disastrous obstacle to navigation in the gulf and river St Lawrence. Where records fail, tradition of the country side tells of many a craft lost on its rocks. Indeed to the struggling settlements of this and other coasts in the gulf a shipwreck has often been a godsend and, if hereditary stories are to be credited, the old settlers of this place, like those on the island of Anticosti further out in the river's mouth, were not guiltless of inviting these mischances.

As one crosses this little Gaspé peninsula, the easternmost tip of the Appalachian Mountains, stretching its index finger out into the Gulf, the single road that leads to Cape des Rosiers rises from the waters of Gaspé Bay at Grande Grève, soon reaches the mountain summit and thence drops downward at an angle that is almost unbelievable for its obtuseness, into the cove of this Cape. Until the autumn of 1908 the first of the fishermen's houses to meet the traveler down this impossible declivity called a road, lay beneath the lower stretches of the long cliff and was occupied by and the property of a man named Smith, English by name, French by tongue and habit of life. For sixty years this house had been in the Smith family and before that, was long the property of James Eves; it had been occupied for many generations — how many I have



The Hamel portrait from the San Malo picture; from Shea's *Charlevoix*





Alleged portrait of Cartier from Ramé's
Manoir de Jacques Cartier, 1867.



Head of the San Malo portrait as re-
produced in the Relation Originale, 1867.

not been able to learn. I have been told by Mr. A. W. Dolbel whose acquaintance with this coast dates back for nearly fifty years, that the Smith house was the oldest in that settlement. So old was it, at any rate, that the ravages of time made it a precarious shelter, and its owner at the time I have mentioned, Marcil Smith, determined to tear it down and built afresh. In dismantling the old house Smith discovered a dummy window unknown to him or his predecessors. This hole had been battened up on the outside and sealed up inside. In between these two walls where it had rested concealed for unknown generations lay the object which is here reproduced for the first time. It was taken by the finder, Marcil Smith, to the store of the William Fruing Company, one of the oldest fishing establishments of Gaspé, only a short distance away, and was obtained by John Lemasurier, an intelligent Jerseyman, the agent of the Company at Cape des Rosiers. My very excellent friends of the Fruing Company with most considerate thoughtfulness laid the object aside till the time of my next visit to this country, and thus I acquired it.

This object is a great wooden medallion, 20 inches in diameter, carrying the relief portrait of a man in middle life, full bearded, capped with tufted hat or bonnet, with jacket buttoned high about a sturdy neck and covered with a collared surtout. The carving is overlain with many a coat of paint and where this crust has flaked off one may see the successive paintings in red, black, yellow and blue; now its central portion is of ocher red, surrounded by a yellow border, except where the bust projects above and below. On the back of this medallion, which is unpainted and browned with weather, is the deep carved date, 1704, and beneath the date the initials, J. C. These numerals and letters are as deeply weathered as all the rest of this unpainted surface and are unquestionably contemporaneous with it.

This very interesting object presents two inquiries:

- 1) What is it?
- 2) What evidence is there that it represents Cartier?

There is little uncertainty among the seafaring folk who have seen it as to what it is. Too many ships have gone ashore on the cape and cove of Rosiers to leave much doubt abroad that it is the

relic of some vessel that lost its life and perhaps that of its crew in this abattoir of ships. The schooners and barks of the early 1700's on that coast were mostly fishermen from Breton and Normandy and it was the custom then and to a much later day for them to wear elaborate figureheads and sternshields. There is barely a fishing establishment in all Gaspé that does not display somewhere about its buildings the figurehead or nameplate of some lost ship of later years than this. Great wrought iron nails projecting from the back of this medallion and sorely twisted, indicate that it was wrenched with violence from its moorings and the surface where the paint has been rubbed off near the top and the grain of the wood frayed out, tell plainly how the surf had battered it upon the pebbles of the Rosiers beach. It was a shield nailed against the flat stern of a Breton schooner.

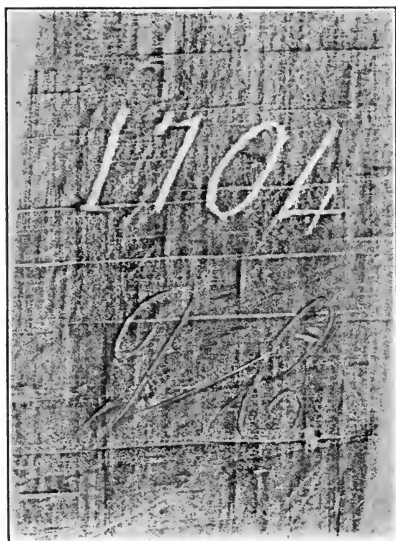
In regard to the evidence for the identity of the portrait, the capital letters J. C. on the back of the medallion must be, I think, under the circumstances, fairly regarded as indicative of the intentions of the carver. It is easy to say they have some other meaning, may be the initials of the workman himself, but certainly they are *prima facie* evidence of the intention to portray Cartier and the realization of such intention that in the judgement of the workman required no other explanation than that vouchsafed by the initials. We must not forget that Cartier's name and the fame of his achievements and doubtless his features, as recorded up to that time, were the common possession and the proper pride of the Breton sailors. The shipbuilders of that day and place remembered and revered him. This Breton had discovered and taken possession of a new world for his sovereign and had brought luster and honor to his calling. Probably the vessel that carried the sternshield bore his name and may quite likely have sailed from his home port, for the Malouins were abundant frequenters of this coast during all the French ascendancy.

It must be admitted that this carving is an admirable piece of workmanship in wood. The successive coats of paint on it have helped to cover and soften some of the original detail and perhaps have concealed some of the action of the features without loss of vigor.



View of Cape des Rosiers cove, taken from the Bon Ami cliffs. The tip of the shadowy spruce twig at the right touches the shore at a point where the Cartier medallion was found.





Date and initials on back of Cartier medallion

It lends itself to analysis. The San Malo painting and the more recent portrait by Hamel both wore the light Milan bonnet, soft, low crowned, with turned-up brim. It was a style of hat which had a long life during the 16th and in the 17th centuries, variously slashed and ornamented. But it was the hat of a gentleman, of the gentleman of the faubourgs and chateaux, not the head piece of a sailor. Cartier was a freeholder, the Sieur of the manor of Limoilou, and as such this hat was appropriate to his social station, but this social station was not achieved until his voyages were over and he was rewarded with the favor of his sovereign. Such fragile headgear did not go with his days of service under his patron, the Admiral Chabot, nor does it match the gales of the North Atlantic and the Gulf of St Lawrence. It is little likely that the delicate starched ruffs at his neck and wrist, his long sleeveless and belted doublet with which the San Malo and the Hamel pictures make him fall in line with the costume of the time; that these were the proper garb for the pilot and ship captain of the 1500's. One does not travel today on the angry Gulf of St Lawrence in evening clothes and the skipper of the 16th century went equipped for his rough work. The tufted bonnet with its tight head band, the high necked jacket and heavy surtout were the proper and historic gear for the sailor of his time.

The face on this medallion is very much as other artists have conceived Cartier and it is posed in profile as the others have been. There is an undeniable resemblance between this portrait and those already known, in trim of face and beard and the contour of its physiognomy, though the features compared with the San Malo and Hamel pictures are of a man older and more hardened by exposure. There is even one detail of agreement which suggests a common origin for these conceptions. In the San Malo portrait there is no hair in the beard growing in front of the ear, nor is there in the Rosiers medallion — perhaps an indication of an individual facial peculiarity. I am disposed to have confidence in the fact that all the evidence, intrinsic and extrinsic, that can be extracted from this very interesting object bears out the belief that the face was intended to represent Cartier. It is the rugged conception of it as it lay, authentically or traditionally, in the

minds of his fellow countrymen, particularly of the artisan of 1704 who created this carving. And it further appears from all this evidence to be the earliest of all attempts at portraiture of the discoverer. It is at least 205 years old, even though it was made 170 years after the discovery of Canada.

It is of rather extraordinary interest that this relique should have been found close on the track of Cartier's voyages. It was just around the Cape of Gaspé, six miles away, and thence up Gaspé Bay on the Sandy Beach near its head that Jaques Cartier went ashore, erected the cross and lilies of France with this posie: "Vive le Roy de France" and took possession of the land in the name of his king. He did not go so far as Cape des Rosiers upon his first voyage yet he could barely have failed to see its projecting point as he passed out Gaspé Bay and across the St Lawrence. On his second and third voyage he did pass it on his way up to Hochelaga.

In the light that has shone so brilliantly on Champlain, the organizer of government in New France, the fame and service of the great captain whose untiring zeal in the king's service twice explored the St Lawrence river after having first found the Gaspé coast, has been somewhat obscured, but those who today own their allegiance to the sailor of San Malo might do well to place on that conspicuous point of the Gaspé peninsula that reaches far out in the gulf and which every vessel passing up the great river must see, some worthy and commanding monument to the discoverer of their country.

WASHINGTON'S RETREAT THROUGH WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

By REV. JOHN H. BRANDOW, M. A.

Author of "Old Saratoga."

Washington's retreat through Westchester County forms but a fragment of a prolonged movement that extended in time from Aug. 29th, to Dec. 8th 1776, and in space from Long Island across East river, north through Manhattan to White Plains in Westchester Co.; thence west across the Hudson, through the Jerseys and over the Delaware river into Pennsylvania. Hence to get at the real significance of this section of the entire movement one should secure a fairly comprehensive glimpse of what precedes it.

The battle of Long Island was fought Aug. 27th 1776. Eight thousand poorly equipped, undisciplined men were defeated by nearly 24,000 of what were then accounted the world's best soldiers. During the night of the 29th Washington by masterly tactics and sleepless energy succeeded in extricating his dispirited army from as bad a trap as ever army had been caught in. The feat then accomplished has ever since been the admiration and wonder of strategists. On the morning of the 30th Howe discovered to his deep chagrin that his quarry had slipped his grasp, and had landed scathless and intact just beyond his reach.

Mr. Howe must now plot an entirely new scheme in the great chess game which he had begun. His purpose, as it soon developed, was to get in the rear of the American Army and compel it either to give battle or surrender at discretion. He was to learn, however, by cumulative proof, that his adversary was as wary as a fox when pressed by baying hounds.

New York City with its environs, in the mind of Congress, was a valuable asset which must be retained if possible; hence, much expense had been incurred in fortifying every strategic position

in and about the city. But Washington quickly saw that if Gen. Howe should make a wise and energetic use of the forces and opportunity that were his New York would soon be made untenable for the Americans.

Soon after the retreat from Long Island, Washington moved the bulk of his army to Harlem and the vicinity of Kingsbridge to guard against a descent of the enemy by either the North or East rivers. The sick were transferred to Jersey. Soon the removal of stores and provisions toward the north was begun.

On the 13th of Sept. several British frigates sailed up the East river and anchored off what is now 14th St. Other war vessels soon followed. On the 15th 3 ships of the line stood up the Hudson and anchored off Bloomingdale, or about 90th St. This put a stop to further removal of stores by water. These latter ships were designed to cover and support a formidable attack on the opposite side of the island which was designed to be simultaneous with their appearance in the Hudson. This attack was opened by the East river squadron with a terrific cannonade of some earthworks lately thrown up by the Americans to defend the entrance to Kipp's Bay, and located at about 34th St. Under cover of this several British Brigades under Gen's. Clinton, Cornwallis, Leslie, and Count Donop effected a landing and at once charged the American works. These defences were manned by militia, supported by several Massachusetts and Connecticut brigades under Gen's. Fellows, and Parsons.

At the sound of the first cannon Washington rode with all speed toward the scene of action there to find every man fleeing for his life, and that before a shot had been fired by the enemy. This was one of the occasions in which Washington seemed to forget himself and recklessly expose his person in an effort to induce the troops to stand their ground and behave like men, rather than sheep.

By this cowardly flight the lower half of Manhattan Island became Howe's without the loss of a man. Had he followed up his advantage with energy Gen. Putnam's division of 4,000, still in

the lower part of the city, could easily have been captured. But these sybaritic Generals found their match and Gen. Putnam his savior in the person of the mistress of the mansion on Murray Hill, then called the Inceberg. Mrs. Mary Lindley Murray was a Quakeress, and hence by her breeding was opposed to carnal warfare. But she proved the truth of Milton's line: "They also serve who only stand and wait." Howe and his Generals on reaching her house received a gracious invitation to lunch. At once he called a halt, and there by the excellence of her viands, her charming manners, and the good humor with which she parried Gov. Tryon's jests about the marvellous bravery of Washington's soldiers and her sympathy with the rebels she contrived to detain them for two hours, or long enough to allow Putnam and his men to escape. Truly she proved herself more efficient in Grand Strategy and solid achievement than whole brigades of the ever boastful New Englanders.

Howe at once established a cordon of posts across the island from river to river flanked by squadrons of warships. Washington hastened north to put Harlem Heights in a posture of defense.

On the next day, or the 16th, that notable skirmish occurred between Gen. Leslie's advanced post and some Americans led by Col. Knowlton and Major Leitch, commonly called the battle of Harlem. In this both brave leaders lost their lives, but the privilege of chasing a lot of fleeing British troops wrought wonders in the way of inspiring the American soldiery, and teaching them that they had within them the making of conquerors. This was the first gleam of encouragement in the campaign, and Washington made the most of it in the next day's General orders. Washington's calling off his soldiers from the chase at this time suggests several very natural and pertinent questions. If Washington were the great general he is regarded to be, why did he not win battles, why such continual yielding of valuable ground without a struggle, especially when an action opened so auspiciously as at Harlem? In short why this constant retreating?

The all inclusive answer to these questions is found in the fact that Washington was almost wholly lacking in the means with

which to withstand his enemy and win battles. His was not an army but a vast aggregation of men undisciplined, wretchedly equipped, poorly officered, and totally lacking in that homogeneity and *esprit de corps* so essential to military efficiency. The men from the different sections were suspicious of each other. The cavalier of Virginia regarded with disdain the farmer from New England, while New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians had but little use for each other. Then too, enlistments were usually for a few months only, and already for many of the men the time was about expired. Dispirited by the defeat and hardships incident to the Long Island campaign many did not wait the termination of their enlistment but deserted by squads, and companies, and regiments. Moreover about one third of the army was on the sick or absent list.

Besides all this Washington, though he had been commissioned Commander-in-Chief, found that he possessed but an empty title. The Campaign of 1776 was directed by Congress not by the General al-in-Chief. Washington had no power to remove or suspend his subordinates. He could not even overrule the commands of his Generals. The Congress had by its grace, granted Gen. Gates the power to fill vacancies but not Washington. He had urged the wisdom and necessity of long enlistments and a regular army, but the Congress was afraid of a regular army. Its General might easily make bad use of it. Hence short enlistments were quite to its liking, and interference with affairs on the field became the usual thing. So, there was the situation. What could Washington do? Most men under the circumstances would have thrown up their commission in utter disgust and despair. Herein Washington exhibited the marks of true greatness, in that he resolved to take the little he had and make the most of it. He decided upon the Fabian policy. He would wear out his enemy by attrition, by long marches, skirmishes, sudden attacks on exposed detachments, in short he would not risk a pitched battle until reasonably sure of success. Meanwhile he would keep prodding the Congress with facts and arguments for a permanent and better conditioned army.

Nearly four weeks elapsed after the battle of Harlem before any decisive move was made by the enemy, which greatly surprised

and perplexed both Washington and the Congress. The interim was spent by both armies in strengthening their positions. Washington besides exercising unceasing vigilance, kept the spade and pickaxe busy. Fort Washington with its outlying works was erected. And by the way, it was in connection with the laying out and building of this Fort that Washington first became interested in Alexander Hamilton. Tremendous efforts were made to obstruct the passage of the Hudson between Forts Washington and Lee, and when done Putnam felt sure that it was utterly impassable by large ships. But to the dismay of all interested the three ships stationed at Bloomingdale got under way on the 9th of Oct. stood up the river and passed the obstructions with little trouble or damage to themselves. The final anchoring of this trio of hostile ships near Tarrytown gave rise to the most serious apprehensions. What could be the significance of their daring venture? They might intend merely to prevent supplies reaching the American Army. Their purpose might be the distribution of arms and ammunition to the Loyalists or Tories known to be organizing up the river, or might be loaded with troops designed to surprise the posts in the Highlands, and so bar the way between the northern and southern armies. But whatever their designs Washington and the Committee of Safety took every practicable step to defeat them. Time showed this irruption however to be but the first step in the furtherance of a well laid plan of Howe's which soon began to develop itself.

Under the direction of the Committee of Safety the archives of the City and County of New York, also of Westchester County were taken to Kingston. All sorts of valuable property, that was moveable, was taken northward to places of safety. Much had already been stored at White Plains. The noted John Jay, then a member of the New York Convention and ultimately 1st Chief Justice of New York State, as later also of the United States, applied for leave of absence that he might remove his aged parents, who lived at Rye, Westchester Co., to a place of safety. A letter from him to Edward Rutledge, of the Board of War, contains this remarkable sentence: "I wish our army well stationed in the Highlands and all the lower country desolated; we might then bid de-

fiance to all the further efforts of the enemy in that quarter." A brave spirit was it that could say that; for the execution of such a wish meant the destruction of his own valuable estate.

Howe regarding it too risky or too expensive to attack Washington in his stronghold on Harlem Heights concluded to turn the flank of the Americans, and, if possible, get in their rear and force Washington to a pitched battle. The passage of the ships above mentioned was the first move in the game. On the morning of Oct 12th with a large flotilla of flatboats he embarked at Kipp's Bay moved up the East river to Throggs Neck and there landed some 4,000 troops. A thick fog hid this movement until after the landing was effected. Throggs Neck was practically an island at high tide. It extended about two miles into the sound, and was joined to the mainland by a causeway and bridge.

Gen. Heath who had command north of the Harlem in Westchester Co., anticipating such a move on the part of the enemy, had removed the bridge and placed there a strong detachment to watch events. These men with reinforcements, speedily sent, were able to defeat every attempt made to reach the mainland.

Washington was at the Morris House, his headquarters on Harlem Heights, when he received the dispatch announcing this latest move of the enemy. Having given some timely orders he mounted his horse and with several of his Generals started for Throggs Neck to make a reconnoissance of that post and the adjacent country. At this time and for several days after he was impressed with the notion that this move was only a feint on the part of Howe and that his real objective was Morrisania near the mouth of the Harlem. For several days Washington was much in the saddle inspecting the country to the West of the Bronx with a view to its defense. Westchester Co. on account of the character of its topography was well adapted for defense. Woods, swamps, deep creeks, preceptitious hills and a net work of stone walls aided vastly in keeping the enemy at bay. Then, too, Howe was greatly disappointed in not receiving as much aid from the Loyalists as he had been led to expect. New York City and County was reckoned to be two-thirds Tory, and Westchester Co. was not far behind. Parti-

sans in both districts found themselves between the upper and nether millstone; for the hordes of looters in both armies made grist of them indiscriminately. For the people of this hapless district the cup of misery remained pressed to their lips for the next seven weary years.

While Washington was incessantly vigilant and active Gen. Howe remained for six days passive in his camp at Throggs Neck awaiting the assemblage of supplies and reinforcements instead of using the forces he had at the Neck and on the opposite shore of Long Island and pushing across to the Hudson and throwing himself between Washington's army and the north. His sluggishness here, as before, lost him, and his King, another golden opportunity, but it signally served the cause of America.

Hindered in his purpose to advance from Throggs Neck, Sir William on the 18th reembarked his troops in flatboats, crossed Eastchester Bay and landed on Pell's point a little to the northeast. Here he was joined by the main body and then he proceeded through the Manor of Pelham toward New Rochelle.

In their march the British advance detachments were waylaid and harassed by Col. Glover and his regiment together with those of Reed and Shephard posted behind stone fences. Twice the British were thrown into confusion and driven back with severe loss; and a third time they advanced in solid columns only to be checked in a similar way. But finally overwhelmed by numbers the Americans retreated with the loss of eight killed and thirteen wounded; among the latter was Col. Shepherd. The loss of the British in this action was never learned, but under the circumstances it must have been very heavy.

Washington, still impressed with the idea that Howe really meant a descent on Morrisania, held his forces back and in readiness to repel such an attempt. However he wisely dispatched a body of troops northward along the ridge to the west of the Bronx. The Bronx is a narrow but comparatively deep stream that rises in the hills north of White Plains and east of Tarrytown, and running nearly due south empties in Long Island Sound a little west of Throggs Neck. From its western bank rises a ridge

of hills, in many places quite precipitous, and easily defensible. Along this ridge at suitable places earthworks were thrown up and properly manned.

At this time Col. Putnam (not the General) at the request of Washington, made a personal reconnoissance of the British positions. His task was thoroughly done. He learned that White Plains was hemmed in on three sides by the enemy and within easy striking distance from their several posts. Valuable public stores had been deposited at this place. The main British army was at New Rochelle eleven miles southward by an easy road. At Mamaroneck, seven miles east was a detachment of the enemy, while on the Hudson, seven miles to the west, was a squadron of the enemies' fleet. Putnam's report, accompanied by a sketch map, proved to be a startling surprise to Washington who had been led to believe that White Plains was difficult of access and easily defensible.

Orders were immediately sent to Gen. Lord Sterling to advance his command to the support of that place. On the 20th Washington moved the main body of his army from Harlem Heights to Kingsbridge and above, at the same time establishing his headquarters at Valentine's hill. Gen. Heath was also ordered north to occupy a position to the northeast of White Plains. To do this he made an all night's march.

On the 21st Howe advanced his line two miles north of New Rochelle with outposts extending to Mamaroneck on the Sound. At the latter place was posted the notorious Robert Rogers, called "the renegade" with a body of Loyalists known as the Queen's Rangers. Lord Sterling sent a picked corps of men to entrap the old fox, but the main purpose of the venture was defeated by some treacherous guides. Notwithstanding, they brought in as trophies of their enterprise thirty-six prisoners, sixty stand of arms, a pair of colors, and other spoils. But Rogers was too wily to allow himself to be taken.

This and other spirited and successful skirmishes, while they retarded the advance of the enemy had the far more important effect of animating the American troops and accustoming them to danger.

On the 22nd Washington moved his headquarters to White Plains. By the 25th the entire American army with the exception of the defenders of the posts about Harlem Heights had reached the vicinity of White Plains.

On the 24th and 25th the British broke camp near New Rochelle and slowly advanced toward White Plains by the main roads. Howe kept his force in close order and well guarded by artillery. His caution was clearly due to the proofs of vigilance and dash shown by his adversary, and because he was advancing through a strange country. His desire was to avoid skirmishing and bring on a general action.

Washington divined his purpose and to prepare for it drew all his troops from the posts along the west of the Bronx into the fortified camp at White Plains, just constructed. Washington's camp was on high ground facing the southeast. The right wing stretched toward the south along a rocky hill at the foot of which the Bronx, making an elbow, protected it in flank and rear. The left wing rested on a small deep lake among the hills. The camp was well defended in front by abattis and two nearly parallel lines of intrenchments.

About a quarter of a mile to the right of the camp, and separated from the height on which it stood by the Bronx, and a marshy interval, was a corresponding height called Chatterton's Hill. As this partially commanded the right flank, and as the bend in the Bronx was easily passable Washington had stationed on its summit a militia regiment. After the appearance of the British army he reinforced it and placed it under the command of Gen. McDougall.

On the bright morning of the 28th the army of Howe expecting a battle which would end the campaign and crush the Americans, advanced in two divisions, its right under Clinton, its left under DeHeister.

Howe was blamed for not immediately concentrating on the American center which was the only vulnerable point. Washington at this time had but few misgivings about his army, which some-

what outnumbered Howe's, mustering about 13,500. This because of the inspiring effect of their later experiences.

Howe, after scanning Washington's position, considered that the chances for a repulse were a little against him; that should he carry one line there was still another, that if he scaled both, "the rebel army could not be destroyed" because the ground in their rear was such that they could easily withdraw and secure their retreat. But as he had come so far he seemed forced to do something. He saw Chatterton Hill on his left manned by its body of Americans, and resolved forthwith to assail and capture it. It was defended by about 1,500. He directed some 4,000 men mainly Hessians under DeHeister to carry this position while the rest of his army with their left on the Bronx seated themselves on the ground as spectators.

After a brave resistance the Americans were outflanked by Col. Rahl, who later figured in the Trenton affair. McDougall then retreated in good order upon the main body. The loss of Chatterton Hill was in no sense serious, but its occupation by Howe divided his forces and by so much enfeebled him. This was evidenced by the fact that he thought it wise to wait two days for reinforcements. Washington employed this interim in removing his sick and stores, and throwing up works on higher ground in his rear.

A drenching rain on the morning of the 31st was Howe's excuse for deferring the attack another day. Washington found it expedient to withdraw his army to still higher ground at North Castle. Howe now discovered that his antagonist, in this new position, was unapproachable in front and that he held the passes in his rear. He pouted for a few days over his failure to bag the game, and then on the 5th of Nov. broke camp and moved to Dobbs Ferry.

After Howe's withdrawal from White Plains there was much perplexity as to the direction of his next move. In a council of war held at White Plains on the 6th it was decided to throw troops into the Jerseys to checkmate an anticipated move toward Philadelphia. Putnam's division was the first to be sent over. Washing-

ton left Heath in command of the Highlands, and Lee with a strong corps in Westchester Co. with instructions to follow him into New Jersey at an early date, if sent for. Lee was sent for, but on various pretexts failed to respond, well nigh to Washington's undoing.

Soon the investment of Fort Washington was begun ending in its surrender involving a great loss both of men and munitions of war. This was a most disheartening event, especially since the Fort had been retained contrary to the judgement and advice of Washington, and several of his subordinates.

After this and the evacuation of Fort Lee on the opposite side of the river there followed that dreary, vexatious, and disheartening retreat through the Jerseys where Washington was ever conscious that if he could have the support of such as Lee, and a respectable backing by the public he could make a brave stand against the enemy and accomplish something worthy. As it was he was forced to give his thought almost exclusively to the saving of his starved, unclad, and ever dwindling army.

When on the 8th of Dec. he was well over the Delaware into Pennsylvania and had checked his muster rolls he found himself left with only the skeleton and scraps of the army that in the early fall had hailed him Chief on Harlem Heights.

Thus disposed of Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis, who had conducted the pursuit, unanimously and emphatically agreed that Washington and his rag muffin army were no longer factors to be reckoned with, that they were down and out, at least for the present.

But a pendulum that has swung to its limit usually swings back. So here. The mettlesome, undismayed, optimistic spirit that led this rump of an army would snatch victory even from the jaws of defeat if the ghost of a chance offered itself. The story of Washington's re-crossing the Delaware on the night of the 25th Dec. is familiar to every American. Trenton followed it, then Princeton, and then Cornwallis followed it all at top speed bent on the rescue of his base of supplies. And so it came to pass at the end of the year that all that Mr. Howe and his Generals had to show for their strenuous campaign, was a part of Rhode Island, with Manhattan

and the adjacent islands, but nowhere any of the mainland, save the villages of New Brunswick and Amboy in New Jersey.

But this great retreat achieved something yet more substantial and hopeful. It brought the Continental Congress to see the military situation through Washington's eyes. It now authorized the establishment of the Army on a more permanent and rational basis. It clothed Washington with power far more adequate and worthy so that he could fill vacancies with tried and trusty men, and, also enforce his commands. Henceforth he pursued his favorite and well tried Fabian policy till Britain's rampant lion lay prone and submissive at his feet. And Yorktown saw this spectacle.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE.

To the New York State Historical Association:

At the Ninth Annual Meeting of this Association which was held in Buffalo, during September, 1907, a resolution was adopted that the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of three to consider the establishment of closer relations between the various Historical Societies of the state. In accordance with this resolution, the President appointed a committee which made a brief report under date of October 12, 1908, at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Association, which was held in Albany. The report was adopted and a resolution was passed that the committee be continued with instructions to collect data from the various societies in accordance with the recommendations which were presented.

Under date of December 26, 1908, the Chairman of this Committee addressed a circular letter to thirty-one different societies in the State of New York. Replies were received very slowly and in some cases, it became necessary to write several times before securing the information desired. All told, only seventeen of the thirty-one societies responded. While the results accomplished were not wholly satisfactory, they were sufficient to illustrate the worth of this undertaking. Your committee is convinced that the proposed action in endeavoring to secure data for a "Directory" and "Bibliography" of the Historical Societies of the State is a matter of so much importance and intrinsic value that the work should be continued in the future. The limited amount of material secured as a result of this correspondence was published in the last

Report of this Association at the end of the volume. We believe that it presents historical data which is best preserved in collective form and also think that there is no other way by which this can be so consistently and readily done as by this Association in its Annual Report.

In soliciting information from the different societies of the state, the data was classified as follows:

- I. Corporate name of Society or Association.
- II. Date of Incorporation.
- III. Date of Annual Meeting.
- IV. Officers for 1908-9.
- V. Membership of principal Committees for 1908-9.
- VI. Dates of important meetings during 1908, giving titles of addresses delivered, and of Papers read, with Authors' Names.
- VII. Publications issued during 1908, giving full titles, with Authors' or Compilers' names, number and size of page.

Inasmuch as many of the organizations which are classed as "Historical Societies," in this state, are not sufficiently active to publish reports of their proceedings and of historical work actually done, your Committee believes that the inclusion of the information secured in the report of this Association is peculiarly valuable and desirable, as otherwise the personnel and work of local Historical Societies is liable not to be permanently preserved.

As we have pointed out in a previous report of this Committee a number of the local Historical Societies in the state were organized with special reference to the celebration of some particular historical event. Created thus for an ephemeral purpose these societies have too frequently entirely ceased active operations and have come to be in a state of suspended animation if not actually

defunct. Not infrequently, officers of inactive societies await but a manifestation of outside interest in their affairs to stimulate them once more to begin organized work and to seek to accomplish the general purpose for which they were created.

Your committee is inclined to the belief that this is a work which should be continued and extended, and that the cooperation of the officers of each Society throughout the State should be earnestly sought. We would also recommend that delegates be invited from each Society to attend our Annual Meetings for the purpose of presenting special data relating to their own societies and to discuss the question of how best to promote the growth of Historical study and stimulate historical research in this state. We believe that it would be wise to devote a limited amount of space in each report to short historical notices of active societies as well as a condensed statement of work actually performed by them during the previous year, whether in the way of celebrating special historical occurrences, of holding meetings at which addresses were delivered connected with work of each Society, or the publication of reports or literature by the Society. There seems an urgent need for collective, or rather cooperative, activity in this direction. This must necessarily result in preserving valuable historical data which, in many instances, would otherwise be lost.

The effect of this cooperative work on the part of the feebler and weaker societies cannot fail to draw them into more active relations with their own work and allied activities elsewhere. We believe that anything that will stimulate an increased interest in archaeological research must also kindle more enthusiasm on the part of those concerned. New York State has had a large number of historical occurrences which have never been adequately recorded and presents a very rich field for the student of the past. We recommended that a committee be continued to carry on this work somewhat in the line with the recommendations already received, with such added suggestions or departures as may still fur-

ther increase the usefulness of our Association in this very important direction.

September 28, 1909.

Presented by William O. Stillman in
behalf of the Committee.

GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,
WILLIAM O. STILLMAN,
IRVIN W. NEAR,
Committee.

The Report of the Committee was, on motion, adopted and the Committee was continued with instructions to solicit data from the various Historical Societies of the State similar to that published in the Report of the Association for 1908.

In response to the requests of the Committee the following information has been received and is respectfully submitted as a Directory of the Historical Societies of the State for the year 1909-10.

ALBANY INSTITUTE AND HISTORICAL AND ART SOCIETY.

Incorporated originally March 12, 1793, under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures," of which Chancellor Robert R. Livingston was the first President. Re-incorporated under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of the Useful Arts in the State of New York." Re-incorporated as The Albany Institute, February 27, 1829, with Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, President. "The Albany Historical and Art Society," organized in 1866, was united with the Albany Institute, April 25, 1900, under the title, "Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society."

Annual Meeting, Second Monday in May.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—James Ten Eyck.

First Vice-President—Danforth E. Ainsworth.

Second Vice-President—Albert Vander Veer, M. D.

Third Vice-President—Dr. Cyrus S. Merrill.

Secretary—Samuel S. Hatt.

Treasurer—Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.

DIRECTORS, 1909.

George Douglas Miller

Grange Sard

Parker Corning

Simon W. Rosendale

Frederick Tillinghast

Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.

Samuel S. Hatt

Jesse W. Potts

Philander Deming

Cuyler Reynolds

John E. McElroy

Charles Gibson

Franklin M. Danaher

Edward L. Pruyn

Prof. Henry P. Warren

John L. Newman

Cyrus S. Merrill, M. D.

Danforth E. Ainsworth

William O. Stillman

Albert Vander Veer, M. D.

Edward N. McKinney	A. A. Dayton
J. Townsend Lansing	William L. L. Peltz
Robert C. Pruyn	William G. Rice
Verplank Colvin	James F. McElroy
James Ten Eyck	Andrew Thompson
William P. Rudd	Martin H. Glynn
William T. Mayer	William L. M. Phelps
James Fenimore Cooper	

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

James Ten Eyck	Edward N. McKinney
John E. McElroy	Samuel S. Hatt
Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.	Albert Vander Veer
J. Townsend Lansing	

Auditing.

James F. McElroy	Henry Pitt Warren
Verplank Colvin	

Endowment Fund.

Dudley Oleott	J. Townsend Lansing
John L. Newman	

House.

Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.	John E. McElroy
J. Townsend Lansing	

Entertainment.

Danforth E. Ainsworth	James F. McElroy
Franklin M. Danaher	William W. Gibson

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated December 31, 1862.

Annual Meeting, Second Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Andrew Langdon.

Vice-President—Hon. Henry W. Hill.

Secretary-Treasurer—Frank H. Severance.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Finance.

The President ex officio.

Henry W. Hill R. R. Hefford C. W. Goodyear

George A. Stringer.

MEETINGS, 1909.

January 12th, January 17th, January 24th, January 28th,
January 31st, February 7th, February 14th, February 18th, February 21st, February 28th, March 7th, March 11th, March 14th, March 21st, March 28th, April 15th, November 11th, December 5th, December 12th, December 15th, December 19th.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES, 1909.

"Life and Times of Lincoln," by Miss Jane Meade Welch.

"Travels in Sicily," by Mrs. George H. Camehl.

"Turkey, the Sultan and His People," by Dr. Edgar J. Banks.

"The Simple Life of Abraham Lincoln," by Henry Earle Montgomery.

"Lincoln's Fame, with Reminiscences of His Buffalo Visit," by Frank H. Severance.

"Darwin's Place in History," by Frank H. Severance.

- "David Copperfield," by E. S. Williamson.
"Washington," by Rev. Leon O. Williams.
"Problems in the Relief of the Poor of Buffalo," by Porter H. Lee.
"Reminiscences of Earlier Buffalo," by D. E. Mahoney.
"The Scars of War—Visits to Southern Battlefields," by John D. Wells.
"Municipal Playgrounds and Civic Centers," by J. H. Fiegel.
"Joseph Brant as History Maker," by Frank H. Severance.
"Rome," by Rev. Henry J. Laudenbach.
"The Story of New Netherland; The Dutch in America," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis, D. D.
"Social Settlement Work in the Steel Plant District, South Buffalo," by Rev. B. K. Basso.
"Buffalo's Need of Small Parks," by Councilman Charles L. Wilbert.
"American Discoverers Before Columbus," by Miss Jane Meade Welch.
"Social Settlement Work Among the Italians of Buffalo," by Miss Mary E. Remington.

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

- "Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State," by Hon. Henry W. Hill, being Volume XII of Publications, Buffalo Historical Society.
"Canal Enlargement in New York State," Historical Papers by several contributors, being Volume XIII, Publications, Buffalo Historical Society.
"Means of Education and Self Culture Offered Dayworkers by the City of Buffalo," published jointly with other institutions.

CANISTEO VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated February 15, 1875.

Annual Meeting, Third Monday in December.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. Irvin W. Near.

Secretary and Treasurer—Walter G. Doty.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Finance.

Dr. R. W. Barney Dr. Charles Innes Adrian De Wilton

Historic Spots.

Hon. Irvin W. Near William B. Taylor William H. Greenhough.

On Program.

Dr. Charles Innes Frank H. Bennett Walter G. Doty

MEETINGS, 1909.

January 8th, January 15th, January 22nd, January 29th,
February 19th, February 26th, March 5th, March 12th, March
19th, April 23rd, September 24th, October 8th.

PAPERS, 1909.

"The Doctrine of Evolution," by Dr. Charles Innes.

"The Origin of the American Flag," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.

"The Meaning of History," by Walter G. Doty.

"The Dying Speech of King Agag," by W. Arthur Williams.

"The Psychological Influence of Ignorance on Humanity," by
Adrian De Wilton.

"Hypnotism," by Dr. George Conderman.

"Science vs. the Bible," by Dane B. Sutfin.

"The Life of Baron Steuben," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.

"The Playthings of Grown Men," by Walter G. Doty.

"The Early Settlers in the Canisteo Valley," by Frank H.
Bennett.

Discussions on various other subjects.

THE CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY OF HISTORY AND NATURAL SCIENCE.

An unincorporated Society under this name was formed in 1883. This Society held meetings annually, which were of much interest, and accumulated much valuable data. William W. Henderson was its indefatigable Secretary during the twenty-five years of its existence, and was most faithful to its interests. Upon the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Society's existence, Mr. Henderson was compelled to retire from the Secretaryship on account of the infirmities of age, but upon his suggestion, steps were taken for the regular incorporation of the Society. This was accomplished on October 28th, 1909.

Annual Meeting, Third Thursday in July.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. Obed Edson.
First Vice-President—William W. Henderson.
Socond Vice-President—Mrs. Daniel Griswold.
Treasurer—Levant L. Mason.
Secretary—Hon. Abner Hazelton.

TRUSTEES, 1909.

Willis H. Tennant	John T. Wilson
W. G. Martin	Arthur B. Ottoway
Louis McKinstry.	

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

Levant L. Mason	George W. Strong
Willis H. Tennant	Mrs. Newell Cheney
Hon. Arthur B. Ottoway	

MEETINGS, 1909.

August 18th.

PAPERS, 1909.

Annual Address by Hon. Obed Edson.

Address upon the Historical Societies of the State, by Frank H. Severance.

Centenary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, by Rev. George W. Stot-herd.

Memorial, Mrs. George W. Patterson, by Mrs. Mary H. Tuckerman.
Slavery as it Existed in Chautauqua County, by Hon. Abner Hazeltine.

Reminiscences, by Hon. Stephen H. Allen.

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated May, 1886.

Annual Meeting, First Monday in December.

President—Walter B. Camp.

Corresponding Secretary—Robert Lansing.

Recording Secretary—George B. Massey.

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, April 2, 1863.

Annual Meeting, second Monday in May.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. Willard Bartlett.

First Vice-President—Bryan H. Smith.

Second Vice-President—Francis L. Eames.

Corresponding Secretary—Tunis G. Bergen.

Recording Secretary—Joseph E. Brown.

Treasurer—John Jay Pierrepont.

Librarian—Miss Emma Toedteberg.

DIRECTORS.

Frederick S. Parker	William G. Low
John E. Leech	Simeon B. Chittenden
Tunis G. Bergen	Rev. Reese F. Alsop, D. D.
Carl H. De Silver	James McKeen
Edward B. Thomas	Alexander E. Orr
Rev. L. Mason Clarke, D. D.	Arthur M. Hatch
William B. Davenport	Robert B. Woodward
James L. Morgan	Byran H. Smith
Joseph E. Brown	John J. Pierrepont
Francis L. Eames	Alfred T. White
Willard Bartlett	John F. Praeger

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

Bryan H. Smith, Chairman.

Joseph E. Brown	James McKeen
Arthur M. Hatch	John Jay Pierrepont
Francis L. Eames	John F. Praeger

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 13, 1877.

Annual Meeting, Third Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—George B. Adams.

Vice-President—Lewis H. Moses.

Secretary and Treasurer—William A. Brodie.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Publication.

W. A. Brodie	S. E. Hitchcock	W. E. Dana
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Finance.

William Hamilton	G. S. Ewart	J. F. White
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Membership.

F. Van Allen	C. N. Strobel	L. H. Moses
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Necrology.

A. O. Bunnell	C. K. Sanders	C. M. Alvord
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MEETINGS, 1909.

January 19, July 29.

ADDRESSES, 1909.

“Cliff Dwellers and Mound Builders,” by Prof. Clifford K. Moorhead, of Phillips Academy.

“The Writing of History,” by Dr. Merriek Whitecomb, of the University of Cincinnati.

“Western New York in the Navy,” by Rear Admiral Franklin Hanford, U. S. N. (Retired).

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

Proceedings of the Society for 1908, including Addresses, 5 3-4x7 1-4, 80 pp., 1909.

THE PUTNAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, September 3, 1908.

Annual Meeting, First Saturday in June.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Gouverneur Kemble.
First Vice-President—Hon. William Wood.
Second Vice-President—Mrs. Butterfield.
Recording Secretary—Miss Mary H. Haldane.
Corresponding Secretary—Joseph A. Greene.
Treasurer—Alexander Spalding.
Librarian—Mrs. Richard Giles.

DIRECTORS, 1909.

Gouverneur Paulding A. Augustus Healey William H. Haldane
Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Hon. William Wood

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

Rev. Elbert Jones Mrs. William H. Haldane Mrs. Henry Baxter
Mrs. Cornelia Reilly Miss Katherine O. Paulding

On Restoration of Milestones on Post Road.

Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Mr. Charles Griffin Mrs. Richard Giles

The Society took a prominent part in the Hudson-Fulton celebration on October 9th, providing luncheon for visitors from the entire country. A Loan Exhibition of paintings, engravings, prints, views, etc., was held by the Society during the celebration, and attracted much attention.

The Society offered in 1909 a prize to be competed for by the school children of Putnam County for the best biographical sketch of Beverly Robinson, the first Supervisor of Philipstown. A like prize is offered for competition in 1910, the subject being The Honorable Gouverneur Kemble, Founder of West Point Foundry.

MEETINGS, 1909.

May 15, June 26, February 7.

THE YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY
ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated, February 15, 1892.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. Stephen H. Thayer.
First Vice-President—Hon. T. Astley Atkins.
Second Vice-President—John C. Havemeyer.
Treasurer—William Shrive.
Recording Secretary—Max Cohen.
Corresponding Secretary—George N. Rigby.
Librarian and Curator—Galusha B. Balch, M. D.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Meetings.

William C. Ewing.

Manor Hall.

Hon. Stephen H. Thayer Max Cohen

ADDRESSES, 1909.

- “The Relation of the Dutch and Indians Prior to the Massacre of 1655,” by Hon. T. Astley Atkins.
“Places of Historic Interest in Yonkers,” by Hon. T. Astley Atkins.

MADISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 29, 1900.

Annual Meeting, Third Wednesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Edwin J. Brown.

First Vice-President—Hiram L. Rockwell.

Second Vice-President—M. Eugene Barlow.

Third Vice-President—W. Stanley Child.

Recording Secretary—Samuel A. Maxon.

Corresponding Secretary—Daniel Keating.

Treasurer—Theodore F. Hand.

Librarian—Miss Jeanne Saunders.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive (Elective Members).

Richard B. Ruby William W. Warr Mrs. Mary Dyer Jackson

Addresses and Publications.

W. Stanley Child Miss Julia Shepard Charles H. Skelton

MEETINGS, 1909.

February 17th, April 21st, October 20th, November 17th,
December 15th.

ADDRESSES, 1909.

“The Angell De Ferier Family,” by George B. Russell, Esq.

“Abraham Lincoln,” by County Judge M. H. Kiley.

“The Hudson-Fulton Celebration,” by Daniel C. Burke, Esq.

“The College and Democracy,” by Dean W. H. Crawshaw, of Col-
gate University.

“King Solomon’s Temple,” by George W. Chapman.

THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 27, 1904.

Annual Meeting, Second Wednesday in June.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Charles F. McClumpha.

First Vice-President—C. F. Van Horne.

Second Vice-President—Harry Bush.

Third Vice-President—Robert M. Hartley.

Secretary—Charles E. French.

Corresponding Secretary—W. Max Reid.

Treasurer—Edward T. DeGraff.

Curator and Librarian—W. Max Reid.

Historian—Robert M. Hartley.

Custodian—Alpha Child.

DIRECTORS, 1909.

John Sanford

J. Veeder Morris

Archibald Gilbert

C. F. Van Horne

Willis Wendell

Charles E. French

John K. Warnick

Howard A. DeGraff

Spencer K. Warnick

William J. Cline

J. Ledlie Hess

Robert M. Hartley

James H. Hanson

Charles Stover

S. L. Frey

Edward T. DeGraff

Fred R. Greene

David D. Cassidy

Harry Bush

R. A. Schuyler

W. Max Reid

Charles F. McClumpha

Frank Vunk

D. A. Burnap

Freeman S. Van Derveer

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

Charles F. McClumpha Charles E. French John K. Warnick

Fred R. Greene Dr. Charles Stover

Literary.

Mrs. John H. Giles Miss Bessie Carmichael
Mrs William B. Charles

Museum.

W. Max Reid	Fred R. Greene
D. D. Cassidy	Mrs. H. T. McEwen
Mrs. Frank J. Wilder	Mrs. Fred Davey
Mrs. W. G. Waldron	Mrs. Frazier Whitcomb

MEETINGS, 1909.

June 11th.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEWBURGH BAY AND
THE HIGHLANDS.

Incorporated, January 8, 1884.

Annual Meeting, First Wednesday in October.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. Walter C. Anthony.
First Vice-President—James N. Dickey.
Second Vice-President—David A. Morrison.
Third Vice-President—Miss Adelaide Skeel.
Fourth Vice-President—Rev. John F. Carlisle.
Recording Secretary—Frank S. Hull.
Corresponding Secretary—William Cook Belknap.
Treasurer—David A. Morrison.
Librarian—Miss Lillian O. Estabrook.

TRUSTEES, 1909.

Hiram Lozier	Hon. R. C. Coleman
David Barclay	Dr. John Deyo
Rev. John Marshall Chew	Gen. Henry C. Hasbrouck
Hon. Howard Thornton	James W. Barnes

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Publication.

David Barclay	James N. Dickey
Frank S. Hull	R. C. Coleman

MEETINGS, 1909.

February 3rd, April 7th.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES, 1909.

- "The First Court House in Goshen," by Hon. R. C. Coleman.
"The Carpenter Ancestry," by Rev. E. F. Neilson.

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

- Publication No. 14 Containing Annual Reports and various Historical Papers, 4 1-8x6 1-2, 128 pp., 1909.
Publication No. 15—"Old Houses and Historic Places in the Vicinity of Newburgh, N. Y.," 4 1-8x6 1-2, 42 pp., illus., 1909.

THE ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated, April 29, 1863.

Annual Meeting, Second Friday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Hon. A. Judd Northrup.

Vice-Presidents—Salem Hyde and William M. Beauchamp, S. T. D.

Recording Secretary—Franklin H. Chase.

Corresponding Secretary—William James.

Treasurer—Charles W. Snow.

Librarian—Mrs. Leonora L. Goodrich.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

Hon. A. Judd Northrup	Franklin H. Chase	Ceylon H. Lewis
C. W. Snow	E. A. Powell	

Lectures and Historical Meetings.

Dr. John Van Duyn	Prof. William H. Mace	John T. Roberts
Miss Frances P. Gifford	Hon. A. Judd Northrup	

Ways and Means.

Hon. Charles Andrews	Hon. Theodore E. Hancock
Hon. Charles L. Stone	Hon. A. Judd Northrup

Arts and Sciences.

Dr. A. Clifford Mercer	George K. Knapp	James A. Randall
Mrs. Leonora L. Goodrich	Dr. Charles W. Hargitt	

Local History.

Rev. Dr. William M. Beauchamp	Mrs. Mary T. Leavenworth
Miss Frances P. Gifford	Mrs. Sarah Sumner Teall

Geology, Minerology and Botany.

Prof. Philip F. Schneider	Rev. E. W. Mundy	John D. Pennock
Mrs. Leonora L. Goodrich	Mrs. Florence Dillaye Vann	

Local Authors and Literature.

Franklin H. Chase	Rev. E. W. Mundy	Miss Sophia A. Clark
Rev. Dr. Herbert G. Coddington	Rev. Dr. Wm. M. Beauchamp	

MEETINGS, 1909.

January 8th, February 12th, March 12th, March 26th, April 9th, April 23rd, May 14th, October 8th, November 12th, December 10th.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES, 1909.

- "Frederick Douglass," by Hon. A. Judd Northrup.
- "A Talk About Ourselves," by Hon. A. Judd Northrup.
- "Historic Quebec," by Rev. Ure Mitchell.
- "Irish Pioneers of Onondaga, 1790-1850," by Dr. Theresa Bannan.
- "Customs and Usages of Modern Indians," by John T. Kilham.
- "Some Notes on the History of Syracuse University," by Henry Danziger.
- "Robert E. Lee," by Charles A. Hitchcock.

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

"An Act to Incorporate the Village of Syracuse, Passed April 13, 1825."

Papers read and Historical Data received at the meeting to commemorate the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Organization of the Village of Syracuse, December 14th, 1900, 8 vo., 86 pp.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, November, 1888.

Annual Meeting, First Tuesday in March.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Edward G. Miner.

Vice-President—Richard H. Lansing.

Treasurer—J. Vincent Alexander.

Secretary—Joseph B. Bloss.

Corresponding Secretary—Nathaniel S. Olds.

Librarian—Esther A. Marsh.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Library.

William H. Samson J. Vincent Alexander Robert T. Webster

Publication.

Dr. Wheelock Rider

MEETINGS, 1909.

January 5th.

ADDRESSES.

“Music in Rochester,” by Richard H. Lansing.

THE SCHOHARIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 4, 1889.

Annual Meeting, second Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Charles M. Throop.

First Vice-President—Prof. Solomon Sias.

Second Vice-President—Rev. Frank Wolford.

Third Vice-President—Henry Livingston.

Treasurer—Frank K. Grant.

Secretary—Dr. H. F. Kingsley.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Executive.

A. Van Topl	W. P. Daring	C. H. Dietz
Dow Beekman	E. L. Auchampaugh	

Finance.

A. H. Woods R. A. Dewey Henry Livingston

Addresses.

Solomon Sias H. F. Kingsley C. E. Nichols

Publications.

Solomon Sias W. E. Bassler A. D. Mead

SENECA FALLS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 27, 1904.

Annual Meeting, Third Monday in October.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Harrison Chamberlain.

Vice-President—Hermon A. Carner.

Secretary—Emma Maier.

Treasurer—Wilmot P. Elwell.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Program.

Rev. P. E. Smith Prof. W. H. Beach Prof. F. J. Medden

Miss Belle Teller Mr. W. P. Elwell

Membership.

Miss Janet M. Cowing E. W. Medden Harrison Chamberlain

Miss Emma Maier Miss Wilhelmina Brown

Miss Blanche R. Daniels

Publication.

Harrison Chamberlain, Chairman.

MEETINGS, 1909.

Third Monday of each month.

PAPERS, 1909.

- "Old Advertisements," by Miss Janet M. Cowing.
"The Old Stage Coach," by Miss Anna Henion.
"The Mynderse Family," by Rev. Charles Herrick.
"Church Choirs of Seneca Falls," by Miss W. Brown.
"Early Recollections of Seneca Falls," by James Sanderson.
Various Papers upon Current Topics.
-

THE SUFFOLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 18, 1892.

Annual Meeting, Third Tuesday in February.

OFFICERS, 1909.

- President—Augustus Floyd.
First Vice-President—Rev. Ephraim Whitaker, D. D.
Second Vice-President—George F. Stackpole.
Corresponding Secretary—Elihu S. Miller.
Recording Secretary—Miss Ruth H. Tuthill.
Treasurer—Hon. Timothy M. Griffing.
Curator—Rev. William I. Chalmers.

MEETINGS, 1909.

February 16th.

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

Year Book of the Society, 1908, compiled by Rev. William I Chalmers, Curator, 6x9 1-2, 29 pp.

TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, December 15, 1900.

Annual meeting, Third Thursday in January.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Richard B. Coutant, M. D.

First Vice-President—Marcius D. Raymond.

Second Vice-President—Charles Eddison.

Secretary—Charles P. Batt.

Treasurer—Clarence S. Davison.

THE WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 23, 1876.

Annual Meeting, Last Thursday in March.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—James E. Batsford.

Vice-President—William B. Clark.

Secretary and Historian—Rev. Henry E. Hubbard.

Treasurer—Leonard Story.

TICONDEROGA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, September 9, 1908.

Annual Meeting, Last Monday in August.

OFFICERS, 1909.

President—Dr. William A. E. Cummings.

First Vice-President—David Williams.

Second Vice-President—Thomas E. Warren.

Secretary—Joseph Thurlow Weed.

Treasurer—Mortimer Yale Ferris.

COMMITTEES, 1909.

Publications.

David Williams

Horace A. Moses

Mrs. Georgiana H. Cook

Mrs. Mary Downs

Mrs. Alice W. Bascom

Rev. Loyal L. Bigelow

Frank B. Wickes

Original Research and Location of Historic Spots.

Hon. Clayton H. De Lano

Hon. Frank C. Hooper

Dr. John P. J. Cummins

Herbert D. Hoffnagle

L. De Forest Cone

Mortimer Yale Ferris

Walter W. Richards

Richard P. Downs

Myron J. Wilcox

Biography and Necrology.

William W. Jeffers

Daniel J. Crowley

Rev. Samuel D. Van Loan

Hon. Albert Weed

Walter C. Tefft

Thomas E. Warren

Frederick Ives

Marking Historic Spots and Monuments.

Hon. John E. Milholland

Harrison B. Moore

Frank L. Brust

Alfred C. Bossom

William I. Higgins

Dr. M. H. Turner

Irving C. Newton

MEETINGS, 1909.

Fortnightly meetings were held during the Winter.

A Field Day was held in May, and was devoted to the marking of Historic Spots along the Ticonderoga River, and on the Old Military Route from Lake George to Old Fort Ticonderoga.

On July 5th a meeting was held in the forenoon for the unveiling of a bronze tablet, and at which an Historical Address was delivered by Hon. Clayton H. DeLano. A presentation Address was delivered by J. M. C. Thomas, and an Address of Acceptance by President Cummings of the Society. The erection of a replica of the Montcalm Cross on the Plains between the French lines and Fort Ticonderoga was celebrated in the afternoon, with Addresses by William W. Jeffers, Dr. Bedard, J. Arthur Favreau, and Poems by Dr. George A. Boucher and Rev. Herbert A. Gessner.

ADDRESSES, 1909.

"The Great War Path," by Sherman Williams, Ph. D.

"Camps of British Regiments in America, as Indicated by Military Buttons and Breastplates Found thereon," by W. L. Culver.

PUBLICATIONS, 1909.

"A Centennial Address by Rev. Joseph Cook," delivered July 25th, 1864, on the celebration of the Centennial of the Settlement of Ticonderoga. Edited by Mrs. Joseph Cook. Published in two editions, one of which is limited.

SOME SIDE LIGHTS ON THE PASSING OF NEW NETHERLAND VIEWED FROM WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

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Although the greater part of what is now Westchester County was theoretically a part of New Netherland, it was practically always an English colonial possession. This was especially true of all that part east of the Hudson River Manors; it was also true of the greater part of Long Island. The manor lands of Hudson River excepted, absolute control of the West India Company extended scarcely thirty or forty miles from New Amsterdam, measured north and east.

As a matter of fact, there grew into existence a neutral zone or buffer strip which nominally separated New Netherland and Connecticut—the land of the West India Company and the territory of the English. In Long Island for instance, the village of Brooklyn, Flatlands, and Flatbush were confessedly Dutch, and a part of New Netherland; Flushing, Gravesend, Hempstead, and Middlebury were English settlements, but only nominally under Dutch rule. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that, when danger or trouble of any sort was threatening, the loyalty and fidelity of these villagers to the West India Company knew no bounds; but when Governor Stuyvesant insisted upon applying to them the measure of rule that the Dutch burghers of Brooklyn and Flatbush received, the English villages were very apt to insist on the rights which the Magna Charta conferred upon them.

In 1653, the Long Island villagers actually browbeat the Governor into appointing a "landdag," or popular assembly consisting of nineteen delegates. So long as the landdag confined its deliberations to a threatened Indian outbreak, it got along most swimmingly with Governor Stuyvesant. When, later on, the landdag

ventured to suggest that the consent of the villages should be a requisite in the appointment of magistrates, the Governor's wrath knew no bounds. The suggestion was a veiled insinuation that their consent to be governed by the West India Company was merely a temporary convenience, good only until England should take over the whole country.

The author of the apparently innocent document was one George Baxter. Baxter had been a confidential Secretary to Governor Stuyvesant, whose chief business was to be a mediator between the Dutch and the English in their interminable disputes. Time and time again his tactfulness smoothed over and settled the troubles that the irascible temper of the governor was constantly getting him into. For several years Baxter and Stuyvesant got along amazingly well but the hopelessness of the condition of the West India Company must have been apparent to master as well as to servant. So Baxter's mild request was regarded as a velvet glove that concealed a mailed hand.

Stuyvesant's answer was an explosion of wrath. He dismissed Baxter from office, and publicly excoriated him as a fomentor of rebellious practices. When James Hubbard, also a member of the landdag from Gravesend village, attempted to explain for his colleague, he too was dismissed from office. Baxter and Hubbard then issued a proclamation declaring Gravesend village English territory under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell; the Dutch and West India Company flags were removed and the English Jack was hoisted. Stuyvesant sent a troop of soldiers to Gravesend, arrested the two men, brought them to New Amsterdam and locked them up for a few days.

As offenses were rated at that time Baxter and Hubbard were certainly guilty of treason, and a death sentence would not have been considered unnecessarily severe. As a matter of fact their punishment consisted merely of a good wiggling in the picturesque vocabulary of the governor. One may query the reasons for the clemency of Stuyvesant, but an explanation is not hard to find. To have executed a capital sentence on the offenders would have been to invite English occupation at once. The English living in

the Dutch territory of Long Island knew it; Stuyvesant knew it; and the West India Company knew it. It was in the air.

Let us take a kaleidoscopic view of the situation. The Dutch claimed the entire country fronting the Atlantic Ocean from Cape Cod to Virginia.

This claim was based on the discovery of New York Bay and the Hudson valley by Henry Hudson in the historic visit of 1609. But it must also be remembered that in 1606, King James of England had granted to the London Company the territory from the 34th parallel, at the mouth of Cape Fear River, to the 45th parallel, and that eight years later Captain John Smith had made an excellent map of the coast, giving thereto the name New England.

In 1619, one Thomas Dermer, an envoy sent by Ferdinand Gorges, visited the region and passing through both Long Island and New York Bay found no one but Indians. The following year found him in New York Bay again; but this time Manhattan Island was a village of fur traders. The explanation is, that in the meantime, the Dutch West India Company had been formed and was doing business at its new stand. The important point is that the doctrine of Elizabeth, requiring that "discovery must be followed by occupation" had not been fulfilled; for fourteen years had elapsed and not an Englishman had set foot on Manhattan Island, or the land thereabout. Dermer made complaint and gave the traders notice to quit, which advice it is hardly necessary to say, was disregarded. No official document known to come from the hand of King James takes cognizance of the matter with one exception. In 1620 the King granted to English companies all the lands of North America between the 40th and 48th parallels, from ocean to ocean, on the ground that no Christian people were within its limits.

It is well to bear in mind also that, although Manhattan Island had remained unoccupied during the dozen years it had been covered by the patent of the Hudson Company, the Hudson valley had been occupied by French fur traders whose posts had been there for twenty years more or less. A clash of territorial claims therefore was inevitable.

Matters remained *in statu quo*, however, for about thirty years. In this time, the population of New Netherland had grown to a total of about 10,000; that of the New England colonies was about 50,000, and the English colonies, Maryland and Virginia, had about the same number of people. The most significant fact, however, was the cosmopolitan character of the people of New Netherland; at least one half were English subjects.

As early as 1635, Charles I had made a grant of Long Island to the Earl of Stirling, but in spite of the overwhelming majority of English settlers in the western part of the island the Earl made no serious attempt to establish his claim beyond the neutral zone. It is time that the Earl's widow sent an agent to see how affairs stood, but Governor Stuyvesant quickly hustled the agent aboard a Dutch vessel which conveniently stopped at an English port in order to enable him to escape. The moral was obvious; a formal trial of the agent would have opened the question of territorial sovereignty, and that was just what the governor sought to avoid.

Another incident proved also a straw that showed the pointing of the wind. The San Beninio, a vessel flying the Dutch flag, sailed leisurely into New Haven harbor and without further ado opened a brisk trade with the good people of the port. Now, according to the laws and regulations of the West India Company, the master of the ship was in duty bound to show his manifest to the Company's agent and also to pay sundry tariff fees on his goods. This, however, he promptly refused to do. So Stuyvesant despatched an armed vessel to New Haven with orders to seize the offending trader.

This was done one Sunday morning, much to the perturbation of Minister Davenport's pulpit meditations. The vessel was towed to New Amsterdam after the crew and officers had conveniently got ashore in New Haven. The vessel was confiscated, as a matter of course, but the presence in New Amsterdam of the crew was also needed. To have arrested its men in New Haven would have at once precipitated a conflict with the authorities in Connecticut, and this Governor Stuyvesant deemed necessary to avoid. As a matter of fact, master and crew were bribed to deliver themselves

at New Amsterdam under promise of full pardon and all expenses paid, which they did, and were royally treated.

The external attitude of the governor, however, was vastly different; he gave general notice that New Netherland included the whole coast lying lands from Virginia to Cape Cod, and warned all trading vessels to call at company's office in New Amsterdam to settle.

The answer to the proclamation was a very tactful piece of statecraft on the part of his alleged English subjects. He was told privately that he would be regarded as the very best sort of timber for governor were he to submit the matter to a popular election. He was also invited to confer with the commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut. The former suggestion, having the earmarks of disloyalty, was promptly declined by the governor, who was every inch an honest old bulldog; the latter was accepted.

The visit must have been a fine object lesson. As he rode through the prosperous settlements he was most cordially received and everywhere lionized. But again the velvet glove covered the mailed hand. He could not help realizing that in a contest with either colony alone he would be most helpless. It is true that he spoke boastfully of "our" Hartford colony, but it was a clear case of whistling in a graveyard. He knew how to back down gracefully, however, and so far yielded that he agreed to call Point Judith, instead of Cape Cod, the eastern limit of New Netherland. He furthermore agreed to leave the whole question of claims to a board of arbitrators, who should be appointed at some future time. A casual thought is all that is necessary to the conclusion that this was the beginning of the end.

Before the conference of the arbitration commission the real test of Stuyvesant's case was at hand. In 1655, Colonel Thomas Pell had sauntered across the tentative line of what is now Westchester with a goodly supply of personal chattels. He also went through the formality of purchasing the region of Ann's Hook from the Indians without even so much as saying "by your leave" to the West India Company. When the matter was reported to Governor Stuyvesant, he ordered Pell to move off *volens volens*,

and to vacate at once. To this peppery message Pell paid no heed whatever, but kept on surveying and staking out his estates; nor did he obey other equally lurid mandates of the governor. As a matter of fact, he remained on the spot, holding down the area that is now Pelham Manor; he held it moreover for the next ten years.

The occupation of the land by Pell is reminiscent of two other facts. A part of the area includes the tract once owned by Ann Hutchinson after she had been driven out of Massachusetts. A more important fact is that its occupation marked the beginning of Westchester County. During the troubles of prior years a neutral zone had been tactly agreed upon, but in 1650 the zone became a fairly well defined line. On Long Island it extended from Oyster Bay southward to the Atlantic. On the mainland it extended from Greenwich, Connecticut, northeasterly, but was not to reach within ten miles of Hudson River.

There had been other intrusions into the territory now constituting Westchester County, but they were without political significance. With the case of Pell it was different. It was a direct challenge to the Dutch. There is no direct evidence that Governor Winthrop of Connecticut was responsible for it, but no one can read between the lines of the contemporary evidence in the matter without reaching that conclusion.

Ten years later, in 1663, the dispute had reached an acute stage. After long waiting Baxter was getting back at the governor, and the latter was compelled either to arbitrate or to fight. He chose the former alternative, and sent trusted envoys to Hartford. In prior conferences the English claim to the disputed territory in New Netherland had been perfunctory rather than formal. Now it was made straight from the shoulder; and in conformance with instructions, the commissioners from Connecticut, who were also members of the General Court, proceeded to unroll a charter signed by Charles II., deeding to Connecticut the lands not covered by other English claims, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

To this the Dutch commissioners protested, saying that these very lands were granted to the West India Company half a century before. "Your charter," was the reply is worthless unless it bears

the seal and signature of Charles II. "But," objected the Dutchmen, "the West India Company's charter was founded upon discovery followed by occupation, thereby conforming to the doctrine laid down by Queen Elizabeth." To this, the Englishmen replied, with very cold comfort, that what was law in Elizabeth's time was not necessarily law in the reign of Charles II. And so the conference closed. Only a few months were to elapse before the English fleet was at New Amsterdam and New Netherland was rechristened New York.

A student of history reading between the lines can reach but one conclusion concerning the matter. It was a political comic opera campaign first and last, and the result was quite as pleasing to the Dutch as to the English. The reason therefor is not hard to find. The West India Company was a serious hindrance to the commerce of the New World, and the people of New Netherland suffered quite as much from the imposition practiced on them as did the English at home. Illicit trade is always a result of onerous exactions. In spite of the Navigation Laws and the West India Company's fur-trade monopoly, this illicit traffic grew by leaps and bounds. Theoretically a Dutch trader could not carry a bottle of schnapps to an English colony, nor could an English vessel take away from Manhattan Island so much as a beaver skin. But the schnapps and the fur pelts could be traded for Virginia tobacco and the tobacco was a legal tender anywhere in the New World. So the colonist who brought the schnapps did not look with a microscope to learn if the schnapps were "made in England" and the skipper who loaded his ship with pelts did not trouble himself about the West India Company's permit. The illicit trading went on until even those who were gaining most by it were frightened by the possibility of a panic that might occur at any time. Both the Dutch and the English colonists were drawn to the conclusion that, under the conditions, English domination of the trade was preferable to that of the West India Company. The former might be an irritating monopoly, but the latter was infinitely worse.

One may imagine that Charles II. sent Colonel Nichols with the men and ships which were off Governor's Island on that September morning as a sort of an after-breakfast resolution. As

a matter of fact, it was the culmination of a policy that had been taking shape for two score years. The final *coup* many have savored of sand-bagging but it was neither better nor worse than the political morals of the times. It was not a case of statecraft or of conquest except in an incidental way; it was a question of establishing a line of least commercial resistance. For, whosoever obstructs the free movement and commerce of the world's commodities is an enemy of all mankind—and it may be pertinent to add that commerce makes empires, and not empires commerce.

THE COWBOYS, THE SKINNERS AND THE NEUTRAL GROUND.

By STEPHEN JENKINS

So far as the War of the Revolution is concerned in its relation to the County of Westchester, we may divide it into two periods—that in which the two contending armies carried on a regular strategic campaign and that in which the history is one of raids, marauds, forays and guerilla fighting. It is with this latter period that I shall try to deal in this paper, but it will be necessary to present a brief resumé of the first period before we can understand thoroughly the conditions prevailing during the second.

The county of Westchester was the richest and most populous of the rural counties of the state. Its nearness to the city and port of New York made the inhabitants prosperous and conservative. Here at their doors was a good market, not only for their perishable commodities but also for such staples as flax, wool, hides and lumber. The surplus was shipped from the port of New York to other places along the coast and to Europe and the West Indies. After all, a man's politics are usually affected more by his pocket than by any other thing. The farmers of the county were perfectly content with the existing order of things, and consequently took little or no part in the dissensions of the period. There were no "Sons of Liberty" or "Committees of Correspondence" within the county. So long as he was let alone the Westchester farmer was content. It was, in his opinion, all right for his betters to dabble in politics if they chose, but he minded his own business and went about his daily work without bothering very much what all the agitation was about. We may say that New York as a province was probably the most aristocratic of the thirteen English colonies, and the county of Westchester was a reproduction of an English county with such modifications as a new country would produce. Here was a great landed gentry with numerous tenants.

Here were six manors modeled on the English plan, with similar rights and privileges, of court-baron and court-leet and right of advowson. The holders of these manors were educated and intelligent men of birth and breeding and accustomed to positions of power and influence in the government. They were prosperous merchants and men of wealth as well as great landowners; for in this new country every gentlemen had some occupation. Without one, he would have been held in slight estimation by his neighbors or dependents. The English gentlemen who visited America in colonial days and the French officers of the army of Rochambeau have left evidence in their writings of this fact.

New York differed from the southern colonies in the fact that it never was a penal colony, that no criminals were sent here to work out their sentences, to the same extent as with the southern plantations. Our chief dependent class was that of the indentured servant, the immigrant of colonial days, who, too poor to pay his passage to the new world, sold himself and his services for a term of years to reimburse the shipmaster for transporting him across the sea. Even this class soon became too numerous to please the people of the colony, and I find among the colonial records of the state that as early as 1727, the colonial assembly took steps to discourage the incoming of these immigrants as dangerous to the well-being of the province. It is curious how history is repeating itself to day in this matter of immigration.

Though the Dutch had been the first to import negro slaves into the English colonies by selling some to the Virginia settlers in 1619,, and though the Dutch West India Company held out negro slavery as one of the inducements to prospective settlers during their ownership of the colony of New Netherland, yet, by 1755, when a census of the slaves was taken, there were found to be only 73 within the whole county.

Another factor tending to still further accentuate this aristocratic tendency was the Church of England, the Established Church of the Province. Its ministers, Seabury, Babcock and others denounced from their pulpits those whose actions would bring strife into the colonies and preached the doctrine of passive

obedience with hardly less zeal than the clergymen of the times of Charles I.

Nor must we forget in our glance over the population of the county the Friends, or Quakers, of whom there was a large number. These people have the happy faculty in an almost superlative degree of minding their own business, unless it be to interfere with some recalcitrant of their own faith. They were more tolerant than the other inhabitants of the county and their love of peace and antipathy to strife added still more to the neutral and conservative tone of the inhabitants.

Here and there, of course, were men, chiefly from the adjoining colony of Connecticut, who either through patriotism or from more selfish motives took the side of the agitators against England and the Parliament. The leaders of the revolutionary side were the Morrisises of Morrisania, aristocrats to their finger tips, who, if we believe Henry B. Dawson, were prompted entirely by self interest and the hopes of driving out of office the DeLanceys and recovering their own former prestige and with it the positions of power and emolument from which they hoped to drive their political enemies.

To the agitators of the times, this neutral, apathetic population of the County of Westchester appeared as Tories; perhaps on the principle that "those who are not with us are against us." Sir William Howe was led to believe that when he advanced into the county and drove out the Americans the great mass of the population would flock to the British standards. In this, however, he found that he had been misinformed, as he afterwards stated before the Parliamentary committee which investigated his conduct of the war. Soon after beginning his Westchester campaign he realized that, while the inhabitants were unwilling to throw in their lot with the Americans, they were equally unwilling to join the British. All they wanted was to be let alone; and Howe dismissed them from his calculations as an active factor in the campaign.

A series of articles in Rivington's Gazette signed A. W. Farmer (A Westchester Farmer) stirred up the patriots of Con-

necticut and western Massachusetts. The authorship of these loyalist papers has been variously ascribed to the Hon. Isaac Wilkins, the representative of Westchester in the Provincial Assembly and the author of The White Plains protest, to Dr. Samuel Seabury, the rector of Westchester, and to Dr. Myles Cooper, the president of King's College. When affairs had reached a culmination, the Hon. Isaac Wilkins feared for his safety and fled the county, finding refuge among the loyalists of Long Island and later going to England. His flight was considered as an admission of his having written the papers; but there still remained Dr. Seabury, and so an expedition was organized in Connecticut under the leadership of the famous "King" Sears. They made a raid through the county into New York city where they seized the office of Rivington's Gazette and destroyed the type and press. On their way, they seized Dr. Seabury and several other prominent persons and carried them back to Hartford where they were placed in jail and held as prisoners for several months. In New York, Dr. Cooper was threatened with bodily outrage and he was saved from being ridden on a rail out of town by one of his students who heard of the plan to seize the worthy doctor. Forewarned in time, he managed to escape from the mob, and, after lying hidden for several days succeeded in escaping to the "Asia" man-of-war. At Philipse's Manor, or Yonkers, the Reverend Luke Babcock, the rector of St. John's, was seized and imprisoned and so badly treated that his death followed. These may be considered as the first outrages perpetrated by irresponsible mobs acting without either civil or military authority.

In March, 1776, Washington succeeded in compelling Howe to evacuate Boston, and the seat of action was transferred to the vicinity of New York. There was an irruption into the county of an undisciplined militia poorly equipped and provisioned. As most of these were from New England, they were imbued with considerable animosity toward the neutral inhabitants of the county of whose wealth, comfort and comparative luxury they had long been envious—an animosity further strengthened by their anger against the author of the letters mentioned above. They treated the county as if it were a conquered section and proceeded to lay their

hands on every thing that was portable, which did not advance their cause in the hearts of the suffering farmers. Before the summer was well advanced, many of these militia returned to their homes, their terms of enlistment having expired. But they did not return empty handed, for horses and draught animals were considered as spoils of war and there is no doubt that great quantities of valuable loot accompanied these patriots to their homes. We have as proof of this the orders of Washington and other commanders against plundering and the further fact that when the retreat from Kingsbridge to White Plains began, there were so few draught animals left in a county famous for its agricultural wealth that the guns, wagons and impedimenta of the American army had to be hauled principally by hand in relays owing to the scarcity of horses and oxen.

Howe began his campaign into the county on the twelfth of October, 1776, when he landed at Throgg's Neck. The battle of White Plains was fought on the 28th, and on the 4th of November, the British began their retreat to New York by way of Williamsbridge and Dobb's Ferry. Immediately upon the evacuation of the county seat, a body of Massachusetts militia under command of Major Austin took possession of White Plains and proceeded to rob the defenseless inhabitants, both patriot and Tory, with great impartiality—a thing that even the British had failed to do during their occupancy of the village. Every article that was portable was sent into the homesteads of Connecticut and Western Massachusetts; and many of the poor sufferers, including both women and children, were left with insufficient clothing, blankets, etc., to keep them comfortable during the rigorous season now close at hand. The plunderers were not satisfied with simply robbing the inhabitants, but they also wantonly set fire to the court-house, the Presbyterian church and several houses; and this, too, notwithstanding the strong orders of the commander-in-chief to refrain from all such acts and depredations. Major Austin was tried by court-martial, not only for allowing his men to plunder, but for himself taking part in it, and was dismissed from the service and turned over to the civil authorities for further punishment.

In the fall of 1776, Sir William Howe commissioned Oliver

DeLancey as a brigadier to form a brigade of loyalists or refugees. Many of the inhabitants of the county, from self-interest, from loyalty to the king, from adventurous spirits, from pecuniary or material inducements, or goaded to it by a spirit of revenge for the outrages perpetrated upon themselves and their families by the irresponsible and plundering militia or the "border ruffians" from Connecticut, joined the British army and were formed into the loyalist regiments and battalions of DeLancey, Rogers, Emmerick, Simcoe, Bearmore and others, afterwards becoming scourges of the county; but the great mass of the inhabitants still remained passive.

During the remainder of the war, there was no systematic campaign in Westchester county, but there was continuous fighting. The Americans, with headquarters at Peekskill, maintained a series of posts from the mouth of the Croton river across to the Sound, at Pine's Bridge, Sand's Mills (or Armonk) and at other places where the enemy would be likely to break through and enter the upper part of the county. The British, with headquarters in New York, maintained a similar line of posts at Kingsbridge, Morrisania and Westchester, extending them in the summer time to Yonkers, Mile Square, Eastchester and Pell's Manor. The great middle section of the county, about twenty miles broad, with the Hudson on one side and the Sound on the other, came to be known as "The Neutral Ground," as it was not regularly occupied by the troops of either side. The Americans came to be known as the "upper" party, and the British as the "lower."

Within the neutral ground the farmers continued their pursuits as well as they could; but they never knew whether the cattle, poultry and crops they raised would be their own or not; as the foragers of both armies did not hesitate to help themselves to whatever they wanted, whether the owner were patriot or loyalist. As Cooper says, "The law of the Neutral Ground is the law of the strongest." It is true that payments were sometimes made; but if by the Americans, they were of little worth, owing to the depreciated value of the Continental currency. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the great mass of the inhabitants continued to be unfriendly to the American cause. The British furnished

them with a market for their produce and paid them for it in good money; and from Eastchester, Westchester and other places regular market sloops continued to supply the city with wood, forage and food during the whole war; though the patriot whale-boats on both the Hudson and the Sound tried to make the trade as dangerous as possible.

One of the first of the refugee corps to be organized was the Westchester Light Horse under command of Lieutenant-Colonel James DeLancey, a nephew of Brigadier Oliver and the sheriff of the county. The work assigned to them was to furnish beef cattle to the troops in New York, and they made raids through the county for that purpose. They were styled in derision by the the patriots, "Cowboys," a generic term which spread to all the predatory troops of the British.

On the American side there were the dragoons of Sheldon, Moylan and "Light Horse Harry" Lee, which, usually supported by light troops of the Continental line and some militia, were in the habit of making raids against the enemy and covering foraging expeditions. One prime objective of these raids during the entire war was the annoyance of the Westchester Light Horse and the capture of its commander, James DeLancey. These were especially hated by the patriots, because most of the officers and men were recruited from the county, and were, therefore, thoroughly conversant with its topography and made unexpected, successful and destructive raids.

Besides these regular troops, there were bands of land pirates, or bushwhackers, whose only interest in the war was their own, and the opportunity it afforded them to pillage and destroy. These marauders were styled "Skinners," and they were ostensibly on the American side. The name is self-explanatory and conveys a good idea of the character of their work. Whence they came, or where they were recruited history does not state; but it is fair to presume from what has already been said in this paper that during the time of a raid by them, many of the homesteads of western Connecticut and Massachusetts would be found manless. To these could probably be added inhabitants of Dutchess county and the

lawless element of Westchester county itself. The American commanders "on the lines" usually closed their eyes to the proceedings of these gentry, until Colonel Aaron Burr took command. He broke up these lawless bands by arresting and punishing the raiders and by making them return their plunder to the unfortunates from whom they had taken it. During the ten months he was in command the raids ceased; but they were resumed under his successors and continued until the end of the war, when there was little or nothing left to steal. The British gave these people short shrift if they were captured, and several trees in the southern section of the county (now the Borough of the Bronx) are pointed out and called "Cowboy" trees, because traditions say Cowboys were hanged upon them. In my opinion, the fruit they once bore was not Cowboy but Skinner; as these trees are within what were the British lines. Local patriotism can hardly be expected to admit that our side could be guilty of such crimes as are ascribed to the Skinners.

The Skinner could change his politics from Whig to Tory upon occasion with greater rapidity than the chameleon is said to change his color; in this respect being equalled by the farmers themselves who changed from one side to the other as necessity required.

Cooper, who had unusual opportunities for learning from those who took part in the Revolution or who were contemporary with it, gives a conversation in "The Spy" between Major Lawton of the dragoons and a captured British chaplain recently arrived in this country who was a witness to a foray made by the Skinners. The chaplain remarks that these people must be the savages of whom he has heard. Lawton replies:

"More than savages; men who under the guise of patriotism prowl through the community with a thirst for plunder that is unsatiable and a love of cruelty that mocks the ingenuity of the Indian—fellows whose mouths are filled with liberty and equality, and whose hearts are overflowing with cupidity and gall—gentlemen they are ye!pt the Skinners."

"I have heard them mentioned in our army," said the frightened chaplain, "and had thought them to be the aborigines."

"You did the savages injustice," returns Lawton.

The result of the forays was that the county was almost restored to its original condition of a wilderness, especially within the limits of the Neutral Ground; roads were obliterated, bridges were destroyed, farm-steads with their barns and outbuildings were fired, and the land, deprived of its usual careful cultivation, went back to its natural state. The population of the county decreased over thirteen thousand during the seven years that it was the field of this kind of fighting (a loss of sixty per cent on the enumeration of 1771), and the Neutral Ground was almost deserted. Timothy Dwight, a chaplain in the army, and afterwards president of Yale College, wrote:

“The lines of the British [autumn of 1777] were then in the neighborhood of King’s Bridge; and those of the Americans at Byram river [Portchester].

“These unhappy people [the inhabitants of Westchester county] were, therefore, exposed to the depredations of both. Often they were actually plundered; and always were liable to this calamity. They feared everybody whom they saw; and loved nobody. It was a curious fact to the philosopher, and a melancholy one to the moralist, to hear their conversation. To every one they gave such an answer as would please the enquirer; or, if they despaired of pleasing, such an one, as would not provoke him. Fear was, apparently, the only passion by which they were animated. The power of volition seemed to have deserted them. They were not civil; but obsequious; not obliging, but subservient. They yielded with a kind of apathy, and very quietly, what you asked, and what they supposed it impossible for them to retain. If you treated them kindly, they received it coldly; not in kindness, but as a compensation for injuries, done them by others. When you spoke to them, they answered you without either good or ill-nature. proving to your full conviction, that they felt no interest either in the conversation or yourself.

“Their houses in the meantime, were in a great measure scenes of desolation. Their furniture was extensively plundered, or broken in pieces. The walls, floor, and windows were injured both by violence and decay; and were not repaired, because they

had not the means of repairing them, and because they were exposed to repetition of the same injuries. Their cattle were gone The fields were grown with a rank growth of weeds, and wild grass. Amid all this appearance of desolation, nothing struck my eye more forcibly than the sight of this great road; the passage from New York to Boston. Where I had heretofore seen a continual succession of horses and carriages; and life and bustle lent a sprightliness to all environing objects; not a single, solitary traveller was visible from week to week, or from month to month. The world was motionless and silent; except when one of these unhappy people ventured upon a rare, and lonely, excursion to the house of a neighbor, no less unhappy; or a scouting party, traversing the country in quest of enemies, alarmed the inhabitants with expectation of new injuries and sufferings. The very tracks of the carriages were grown over, and obliterated; and where they were discernible, resembled the faint impressions of chariot wheels, said to be left on the pavements of Herculaneum. The grass was of full height for the scythe; and strongly realized to my mind for the first time, the proper import of that picturesque declaration of the Song of Deborah: 'In the days of Shangar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied; and the travellers walked through by-paths. The inhabitants of the villages ceased; they ceased in Israel.' "

During the last year of the war, when both sides were awaiting the news of the completion of the arrangements for peace, the operations of the regular military were suspended; and the Neutral Ground was given over to irresponsible bands of thieves, plunderers and cutthroats, who paid very little attention to the politics of their victims if they had anything that could be stolen. The withdrawal of the British posts and garrisons from the territory adjacent to the Harlem river and the Sound opened up a fresh field for the operations of these plunderers among those inhabitants who had chosen to remain instead of going into the city of New York with the retiring British troops. By the end of the war, the "*loyal and populous*" county of Westchester had dearly paid for its loyalty to the king and Parliament; and the losses and distresses that its people suffered were, perhaps, only a just

retribution for neglecting and forsaking the cause of their struggling country, and for their desertion in the hour of her need. The British government made good their financial losses to a considerable extent, and replaced their lost and confiscated lands with liberal grants in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where, today, their descendants still form a large percentage of the population.

In conclusion, let me once more quote from "The Spy." "The time must come when America will learn to distinguish between a patriot and a robber."

If this brief paper has helped you to differentiate the real from the spurious, I am thankful. All glory and honor to the earnest and patriotic men and women of the Revolution; all shame to the despicable wretches who masqueraded as patriots to cover their own base purposes.

STEPHEN JENKINS,

Author of "A Princess and Another," a tale of New York and Westchester County in Colonial and Revolutionary days.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY AS CORRECTIVE OF ECONOMIC ECCENTRICITY.

By REVEREND THOMAS R. SLICER, of New York

Mr. President and Members of the New York State Historical Association, and Friends:

In order to eliminate the rather abstract nature of the topic announced I beg to remind you of what Warwick said to Henry IV, in Shakespeare's play of that name:

“There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd,
The which observed, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
And weak beginnings lie intresured.”

(Henry IV, Part II, Act III, Sc. 1.)

It is my hope to show you tonight so far as possible in terms of the study of history the demonstration of present relations to the past. I recall to your mind another quotation to set this matter clearly before you. It is Cicero who says:

“History is the witness of the times,
the light of truth, the life of memory, the
schoolmistress of life, the herald of an-
tiquity.”

(De Oratore II, 9.39)

A curious remembrance comes to me at this point. When I was eighteen years of age I happened to be visiting, in his imprisonment, Jefferson Davis, then the late President of the Con-

federacy. In the course of conversation—for Davis was a better scholar than he was soldier, as he was a better soldier than he was statesman—he used a phrase that I had read in one of Macaulay's Essays; I called his attention, apropos of something he had said, to the statement of Macaulay that history is philosophy teaching by examples. If Macaulay quoted that he quoted it from Lord Bolingbroke, and Lord Bolingbroke was quoting Dionysius of Halicarnassus, while he in his turn was paraphrasing a statement of Thucydides. And in vindicating the definition we have at once illustrated the continuity of history. Thus reinforced by great names and world-recognized authorities, I venture to define my theme with simpler statements by which to seek a more immediate presentation of my subject.

What is that which we call *Economics*? I conceive it to be, in the briefest terms, that science which matches human resources against human needs. And the brevity of the definition need not deceive you as to the grasp and width of its application. Economics is that science which matches human resources against human needs. If that be so, then history is the record of the success or failure of this undertaking. If you ask me whether the dominance of a given State is a department in economics, I say yes, for it is dominant or subservient according to the degree in which it has been able to so match its resources and its needs. If then economics is the effort to match human resources against human needs, and history is the record of the failure or success of this endeavor, then the total result of these endeavors constitutes the experience of the race, for whatever else is added to the material experience of the race, material experience is still the substratum. The total record of this endeavor constitutes the experience of the race in making good its place in the world. So that the final definition is that the capitalization of this experience constitutes the material progress of a people. I hope these definitions may seem to you sufficiently clear to be their own justification. If you ask me why I say the material progress of a people or of peoples, I reply that it is because in using the correlative term "nation" we do not proceed far in economics as history with-

out being confronted by the science of civic government which occupies a large area in the field of economics.

We come to a more difficult matter when we come to define economic eccentricity. There is a certain appearance of prejudice, a certain relegation to the outside, in the phrase "economic eccentricity." We know pretty well the value of the eccentric in machinery and its usefulness to revolution, but the crank in society is more difficult of adjustment. The revolution in machinery demands a respect and confidence on our part that the revolution of society, which the crank in society aims at, does not so easily excite. It may be said of this eccentric in society, in the field of economics, that he is that variation in a perfect round which promotes revolution by overcoming the resistance of the dead point, the social inertia. I hope to show you that that does not contribute to progress; but that the process of evolution does contribute to a progress which no cataclysm or crisis can effect.

Perhaps I can avoid the appearance of any personal reference by telling the story of a hen that I knew. It is quite possible to make the acquaintance of a hen in spite of her lack of frontal development and of the ordinary graces of life. At any rate, I know a hen that in the intent to produce her kind ascended the roost four feet from the ground every time she wanted to lay, and from that height laid her egg—not to the integrity of the egg! When she had laid the number of eggs that were to be her lot in life for that season, she crawled again to the roost four feet from the ground and sat. Nothing happened; there were no eggs, and there was a cold north wind beneath the roost, and incubation under such combination of conditions was a practical impossibility. Now the hen's integrity of purpose was never in question, but considered as an economic promoter of the poulterer's business she might be called economically eccentric. That will give you the point of view, and free it from any bias or animus. My dear old friend, the late Dean Everett, once said when introducing three speakers: "Mr. Tucker will speak upon Philosophic Anarchy, Mr. Bliss will speak for Christian Socialism, and President Andrews will appear for the regular practice." Now I appear tonight for the regular practice, which is the study of history as corrective of economic eccentricity.

It is germane at this point, I think, to enquire as to the causes which may lie back of what I have called economic eccentricity, and the first of these is the actual ignorance of history. Nobody doubts the general right-mindedness, and wrong direction, of the economically eccentric. I have known many men who have discovered plans for the reformation of society and the adjustment of human resources to human needs which had been discovered and tried fifty times before. If they had known the history of that field they might have turned to some untried experiment which would have interested them just as much—for the reformer's interest is perennial, though his experiments perish one after another. "Men may come and men may go, but he goes on forever." I know a man who pays a large salary to a helper in his office whose duty it is to make him finish the thing he has begun before he invents another. In mechanics, just as in economics, the mind of the eccentric sprouts new ideas like an asparagus bed. If the knowledge of history could be given to the man of such mental activity, if his recollection could be adjusted to his invention, something really valuable would come of the perennial flow of thought. It has been said of the United States—and not with entire injustice—that it is the place "where all the mistakes of the past are tried over on a large scale." That is due to our energy and to our inventiveness, and sometimes to a disease of the speculative faculty; for to welcome the new in terms of the future and not in terms of the past is the mark always of the economically eccentric. He speaks in terms of what is to be, he does his thinking on the roost instead of on the nest. He is like the Athenians who were always wanting to hear or know some new thing. Much of our insecurity of process in government is due to the fact that our statesmen do not know history. They know their constituency, they know the mill, they know the market, but they do not know history. It is for that reason, that such extraordinary proceedings, based on ignorance of the general scheme of government, take place, that we have become in a kindly sort of way, a reproach to the nations as having no system of government. Foreign economists say that of us, and with more or less truth, for as a matter of fact we have as yet no system of government but only a series of administrative and execu-

tive experiments. For months during the last session of Congress the two Houses of Congress were engaged in a discussion as to how much or how little there might be a revision of the tariff. More or less they satisfied themselves, and probably the whole country was as little satisfied at the end, as they were glad to enter on their vacation. This is not the place to discuss the tariff, but I call you to witness the things in that discussion which bear on our topic tonight. I would suppose that everyone would admit that this is a fair statement of the relation of revenue to production, namely: that free trade is the ideal; that protection is the expedient; and that the business of government is to determine how long the expedient shall be used before the ideal can be realized. Now when you take the group of whom I make this general declaration as to their ignorance of history, you find them engaged in the effort to balance issues in terms of manufacture and production rather than in the effort to conserve the well being of the whole. The richest man in America was, so far as I know, the only man to introduce the cause of the consumer. Andrew Carnegie, in his address to the Committee upheld the cause of the consumer. Another point that was overlooked was the relation of the tariff to immigration, and I suppose it to be another axiom in economics that protection of industries may be cancelled by free trade in immigrants. And as a member of several organizations concerned with immigration and its distribution, not myself a restrictionist in the field of immigration, I still maintain that to consider the tide of immigration, and the question of production together would be the part of a man of information.

Another point still to be borne in mind in the tariff if it had been economically considered, should be that the new American should be taught what the country means for him not simply as a consumer, but to him as part and parcel himself of the government of his time.

I have traversed this field because I want you to see that to cast a vote for a proposition some other man has made is not the part of a statesman, and argues often an ignorance of history which now we seek to correct in the establishment of a Tariff Commission,

whose business it shall be to know the history which other people do not know, so that we may get a purview of the whole field which will enlighten the Executive and the legislators.

But there may be another reason for economic eccentricity besides this absolute ignorance of history, there may be the further reason of moral passion, the finest thing that comes in human life now that moral sense is part of our outfitting. I suppose that in the remote past when a human creature, so-called, could think, and had come to think about his thought, and had reached the stage where he could think whether it ought to have been thought, and was able to turn his mind inside out and discover its seamy side, and had gone one step further so that he could determine the worth, as against the force, of a motive—in that moment the moral sense came into being. He could then not only tell the rush of life around him, but the value of the current in which he stood, not only realize the power of the motive, but the worth of the motive. That realization in essence constitutes the moral sense. Now when this moral sense is kindled to a flame of enthusiasm we get in the worker in the world's field what we know as moral passion, and I say to you, friends, that moral passion is as different from moral propriety as a whirlwind is different from a summer breeze. I am not decrying moral passion, but simply accounting for it, and I say that economic eccentricity in its developments is largely chargeable to this moral passion which runs ahead of its information. Often it comes from the fact that the fanatic is a man who is carrying more than the load that belongs to him, either actually by the conditions of his life, or in terms of his moral passion. The people at either end of society have unloaded on him, and it is out of the great middle class that is carrying more than its load that the fanatic is born. He is either overtaxed in his emotions or crowded from the outside in his conditions. And he has a sense of "mission," which is an admirable thing to come into a human mind which takes itself seriously, and a man has a right to take himself seriously; I think it would be difficult for a well-equipped and well-conditioned man to take himself too seriously, but he may make a mistake by ignoring the constituents that make up the group to which he belongs. A great publicist said to me once with all sin-

cerity, that he was "the last barrier between the people and the corporations." The grace of God restrained me from saying what was in my mind, which was, that in a universe that has no edge there is no need of a fence. When a man says that he is sent on a "special mission," that he "has been selected from among men," that things have been shown to him that other men cannot see, and that he has the power of expressing these things in terms other men cannot answer, that he stands as "the last barrier" between two contending floods, he may be said to have become economically eccentric, so that he forgets the constituents of his group; he thinks God spoke but once and that he was the only man who heard. And that is a mistake. He is possessed of moral passion, he is potent of results, but moral passion unapplied is moral fever, and moral fever applied is not always contagious, and is not often beneficial. What is the order in which this moral passion appears that leads to economic eccentricity? There are three stages in which its evolution may be marked. First it appears as a moral passion concerned with an economic grievance. There are men saying that "wage slavery" is the degradation of human life. Why do they say that? Why do they believe that? Because they belong to that stage of development of moral passion which rallies round a grievance, which has for its watchword such a phrase as "The injury of one is the concern of all." This rallying round a grievance leads to class emphasis, and what in the upper classes is grotesque in the lower classes is tragic. The man who pleads for class consciousness in terms of self or in terms of family, or in terms of position or of influence is grotesque; the man who pleads for class consciousness in the name of the proletariat—as they call it—is tragic. And all class consciousness which rallies about a grievance is only in the first stage of moral passion. Of course economic eccentricity must result. And yet when the word "proletariat" is used in the ordinary cant of class, people forget the meaning of it, for lack of historical knowledge. The proletariat in the Roman state owned nothing but their children, and their children were the offering they made to the state to anticipate their own dissolution. The word proletariat is not interchangeable with any idea connected with wage service, nor is wage service a degrada-

tion—else most of us are declassed. It depends not upon the receiving of a wage, the amelioration of the group depends not on that, but on the giving for the wage received that which is its equivalent. I was taking part in a debate with one of the best equipped of all the collectivists, an intelligent, educated man who had run for governor of his state, and he gave out a plan which was to end in the socialization of all the instruments of labor, and then turned to me and said, "Has the gentleman on the other side any remedy for the present economic chaos?" "Yes," I said, "I have one; it is not mine, I borrowed it; it is very old, and it has never failed, and it has been maintained because it is absolute." And he gave me his whole attention, so far as his incredulity would allow. I said, "My remedy for economic chaos is for every man to stick to his job and put the best of himself into it." That lifts wages to the position of honorarium, and service to the plane of sacrifice. This is the first stage then of economic eccentricity from moral passion, that it rallies round a grievance. This stage is not new, and it is not very respectable, for it existed just the same when the cave men fought each other for a bone to carry away; the cave man thought, "It is my bone," and his moral passion took the form of justice to himself, and justice to one's self is the synonym of selfishness.

The next stage of economic eccentricity is to be found when the group that once gathered round a grievance comes to rally around a benefit. When we get to this stage we have climbed a little out of the dark where we growled over our bone; we have got away from the field where we exchanged blows because we were aggrieved, and the moral passion now begins to appear, because we have taken in the other man, not in the sense of defrauding him, but in the sense of caring for him; and we have reached economic sanity up to a certain point because we have come to seek economic changes in terms of *imagination* instead of in terms of grievance, and then, having reached the level of imagination we go still further, until the eccentricity disappears in the common good; in that our moral passion is now seeking, not merely a benefit, but a *benefit for the other man*. That is the climax, and when that is reached we have come to the matching of the resources to

the needs, we have come to economic science instead of economic eccentricity.

Let us turn to some illustration of this. In the first group, where the grievance is the ground of union and moral passion takes its vogue therefrom, we have anarchy and insurrection, not philosophic anarchy such as Tolstoy and Kropotkin profess, but the anarchy which undermines existing conditions in the interest of a dream not yet realized instead of fulfilling present conditions in the interest of a truth already apprehended. Tolstoy rises beyond that point to philosophic anarchy because his ideal is that which the New Testament presents, where it speaks of the graces of life, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, mercy, patience,—“against these there is no law.” Obviously, these are the things that make the law, these are not the simple qualities of those that obey the law, they are the qualities that constitute the law; “against these there is no law;” of course, even Russia cannot find a law by which to indict Tolstoy. But when we reach the economic eccentricities of a man like Ferrer, whose judicial murder the world protests against today, we have reached the third splendid field of moral passion in the man who seeks a benefit for the other man. And whilst I have no sympathy with any irregular effort to dislodge the hold of tyranny upon the hearts of men, yet in the interest of evolution, in the interest of humanity, in the interest of love of the other, I must hold Francisco Ferrer of Barcelona in higher regard than the King and Ministers who allowed his death, practically without trial.

But this economic eccentricity of which I speak has another source—the great prophetic impulse for which history has prepared and which comes at last to be discovered by one man. I am not an advocate of the single tax, but I dare to say that the terms of private ownership have a just and eloquent offset in the economic philosophy of Henry George and his school. I am not a single taxer, but I can understand the ideal for which history has prepared through long generations to prohibit at last personal privilege and private aggrandisement by processes which shall sacrifice the rights of others. And we get out of that the idea of cooperation, seen in its simplest form in neighborhood work, a new thing

in the earth since the days of Toynbee of London. It has been the study of people living in great groups, cities like that of which I am a part, where four millions and a half of people are trying to adjust the resources of life to life's needs, to make a neighborhood among contiguous tribes, to establish a community of interest which shall provide for the health and well-being of the people who are so far crowded together like sardines without oil, so that only yesterday it was found in the debate of the present political struggle that in New York City twenty thousand people were untended and uncared for in the face of the White Plague. And there grows upon the public mind the realization of the necessity of caring for these things, and economic eccentricity appears because of the great burden. The three great words now are: Neighborhood, Community, and Cooperation. And these words bear a new meaning. When one of the periodic panics took hold of the newspaper mind of England as to the probability of Russia's appropriation of India, occupied by the English, Lord Salisbury, then Premier, said to the gathered newspaper representatives seized by this panic: "Gentlemen, buy a large map." What did he mean? He meant that the map would show the community of states; he meant that map would show the scientific boundaries, boundaries as real as if they had been drawn in bayonets. It was his tribute to the sense of the race as an organism rather than as an organization, and this solidarity of the race, this community of interest, is the basis, and the only basis, upon which a successful study of economics can be conducted. It is the history of racial development, the psychology of peoples, the organism which is no longer a mechanism of united parts, but the union of functions in which each part has its share. I like the definition of the professor of sociology in Prague, when he said that society—not Mount Vernon, or New York, or America, but that divine thing we call *Human Society*, which gives its sanctity to everything that shares it, the church being sacred not in itself but as a segment of society—that Society is "an organism in which every cell has consciousness." That is the new interpretation of history. The first among English writers to follow this interpretation was the historian Greene: he wrote "The History of the English People." It was

no longer a play of kings for a crown but a play of functions for their own development. It was not the circulation of coin into and from an exchequer, but the circulation of principles from lowest to highest which constituted a nation, a constitution, an empire, for the English people.

Now let me read you what is said by the most learned historian of modern times on this point. Lord Acton (he a Roman Catholic), commenting on the Historical work of the Protestant Master of University College, Oxford, speaks of the period in which he writes, these words:

“General Garfield wrote in his diary: No country has made nobler progress against greater obstacles than this heroic England in the last hundred years. At the same time Gratry describes the admirable spectacle of a nation turning from its sordid carnal ways to make reparation for centuries of profitable wrong. Just then, too, Provost Paradol, with the same scenes before him, said: We all know at what stage of existence people begin to feel remorse, settle their affairs, and try to atone for their misdeeds. Dr. Bright has seen these things. He crowns the history of England with the age of compassion and conversion, of increased susceptibility in the national conscience, of a deepened sense of right and wrong, of much that, in the eye of rivalry, is sentiment, emotion, idealism, and imbecility. He has shown how the nation, the constitution, the empire, were formed; but his heart is not in the stirring stumbling past, in the siege of Ascalon and the coronation at Paris, with Drake and Clive, but with those who administer the inheritance of power and responsibility, the treasured experience and the imperial arts, to the needs and claims of three hundred millions of men.”

Was his mind not with Drake and Clive? It was perhaps with Lord Cromer in Egypt who took a nation bankrupt and moralized it into solvency. It may not have been with Drake and Clive, nor yet, as we have been in the last few weeks, with Hudson and Fulton, but the problem is the same adventure. Our mind may not be with the Dutch in Java and Borneo, but it is with the Filipinos.

I have made this quotation from Lord Acton because it seemed to me of the very essence of what we are considering.

So that now we have reached in our economic consideration the solidarity of the race as an organism. The identity of human interests, as I tried to illustrate in my reference to the tariff, is based on the discovery that every economic question is a social question, and every question in society is a question in ethics. In other words we have not only united the peoples in the study of psychology, but united their ethics from the standpoint of economics. And so we come to questions related. Immediately upon the surface of our economic enquiry appear the questions of luxury and culture. How far are they subject to the charge of economic eccentricity, and how far may they be corrected by the study of history. If you will take any good account of the social conditions of the first century and hear it read with the names omitted, it will seem to you like the statement of our immediate and present conditions. Thirty millions of freemen in the Roman Empire owned ninety-million slaves. The luxury was a luxury without culture; he who had culture was paid to be cultured by the man who had the slaves. We have not sunk yet to that level, but I say to you quite seriously that the holding of the means of living within the hands of the few does not tend to culture but to vulgarity, and the picture of it may be found not in Greece nor in Venice but in the Roman state. Take so simple a matter as the following illustration. An economic eccentric sought to arraign President McKinley for his management and government of the Philippine Islands, and spent an hour with the late President telling him how far he was wrong in the administration of possessions that had been dropped into his hand by no fault of his. And after listening all that time, that patient man of the merciful spirit, said to him, "I have listened with great patience to the record of my errors; will you tell me what I *ought to do*?" And this man, who had travelled from Boston to Washington to tell the President what he had done that was wrong, answered, "I have not thought that out yet, but I will write to you about it." That is an example of economic eccentricity. Why did he not remember the story of colonization, the story of Borneo and Java and Sumatra and Ceylon, enquire into the con-

ditions under which Lord Cromer went into Egypt and faced chaos, and Gordon went into Egypt and faced death, so that to-day in Khartoum the Royal Institute is studying the cause of the sleeping Sickness and the germ-life in Africa where Gordon's blood had fructified the English mind? Why did he not pin down the pages where the story was like our own, and make comparison? Why have we not done that, and saved ourselves from the fate of trying all the old experiments over again on a large scale? The questions of conditions and resultant conditions are before us to study if we will. I think it is within my province in illustration of this field to turn your attention to that form of moral passion which proclaims the experiment of prohibition as against the certainty of regulation. By prohibition I do not refer to the prohibition of liquor simply. All the community is divided on the question of prohibition as against regulation. There is a little group made of cast steel—I do not refer to the Spanish refinement of that name, but rather to the Bessemer product of the Pittsburg make—who will have nothing done except in terms of control. Is it the social evil? they will prohibit it; is it intemperance? they will prohibit it; is it the rule of a party? they will prohibit it. And all history, on luminous page after page back to the very beginnings has declared that *regulation*, not prohibition, is the condition of human growth. I belong also to another group. I hold a brief, or a conviction which is better than a brief, that whatever lowers human, individual initiative lowers the race, that it is economically eccentric to suppose that any man can vacate his convictions or his vices by request, that in the ratio in which he is stubbornly vicious in the same ratio he may be potentially noble. So far back as Socrates it was written: "I must have the power to do a great wrong in order that I may do a great right. It is a phase of economic eccentricity for instance to demand equal laws without equal civilization, to put the laws which control and regulate Massachusetts on the same level of imposition with the laws that regulate South Dakota. The human mind cannot be reduced to an impalpable powder or an indistinguishable pulp without reducing its constituent powers, and the same thing which would apply in the State I represent and you represent, would not apply

in another set of conditions. For instance I regard direct nominations as applied to the different parts of the State of New York as an economic eccentricity, and the history of representative government is the corrective of an eccentricity that would impose conditions for which the way is not yet prepared. Athens tried representative government, and in the ancient world came as near as any state to the town meeting of New England. But it was not after all a truly representative government, because large groups were not represented by individuals but in whole, and the democracy of the Agora failed for lack of representation even of the will of the people. Venice, the longest-lived of all republics, stretching over a thousand years, ended in a trust of which the Doge was the chairman and the Committee of Seventy the corporate members. All history has written in letters that all who run may read if they be not blind, that it is better to have democracy well administered by a few than a democracy kept in chaos by the many. Education goes on in a spiral, as we have often been told. There is no way for an economic aeroplane to fly over intervening spaces, the spiral must be climbed, and each ascending man looks down and sees at once the climber below and the path by which he came.

And now I shall close by once more quoting from Lord Acton, reading to you a passage which seems to me to bear directly upon our theme. He says:

“Is it best with effacing fingers to make history with individual character, class interests, and the fortuitous changes of opinion, or with the ceaseless conflict of defined forms of thought?”

We begin to see daylight in the Cromwellian era when we know what a Calvinist meant, and an Arminian, a Presbyterian and an Independent, a Baptist and a Socinian. It would be a luminous moment if, for the perpetual round of violence and weakness, somebody would display the operation of the original materials that supplied the French Revolution, the distinct systems that divided the three Assemblies and governed the several Constitutions; the eighteenth century Law of Nature, the American Rights of Man, English Parliamentary institutions, the abstract constitutionalism of Montesquieu, Voltaire's humanitarian code,

Protestant toleration, Jansenist theories of Church and State, the perfectibility of the Encyclopædists, the whiggism of Holbach, the Helvetian doctrine of equality, Rousseau's democracy, the socialism of Mably, Turgot's political economy, the unguarded sentence in the *Wealth of Nations* which gave to the Provencal priest the fulcrum to overthrow the monarchy of Louis XIV, the conditional contract which Marat transmuted into a theory of massacre, the policy of the four Genevese who worked Mirabeau; and our own times might be cleaner if, instead of our own devices, the historian explained what it was all about, wherein a Conservative differs from a Whig and Tory, where a Liberal draws the line against Whig and Radical, or Manchester from Birmingham, at what point democracy begins, how it combines with socialism, and why some socialists are Liberal and some democrats Tory. Impartiality would remain intact, for the strength of a doctrine, that which has to be accounted for, is its truth or semblance of truth; its errors make themselves known by its consequences and variations."

Lord Acton wrote this twenty years ago, and in our own land and in this very time almost every line has its parallel illustration. As for instance the thing nearest to our mind. We go back in history to find the reasons why for instance, coming from representing the Labor Party in the British Parliament, Kier Hardie, on a mission to American socialists, finds that in the United States there are a hundred and twenty-nine national trades unionized, out of which but four are avowedly socialist, and he goes back with his enquiry unanswered, having coming face to face with a problem entirely new to him.

And so we are to have in mind the value of background. We go back into history to find the background against which to set our simplest problems, as well as the most intricate, that we may know what is to be the new American. In the city of New York I go through whole streets and do not hear an English word; I may hear Russian, Polish, Italian, Hungarian, Greek, but not a word of English. I go into the Public School with an assembly room containing fifteen hundred boys and girls—it happens to be the day before Thanksgiving—and the first thing that greets my ear

as I note the exercises is the recitation of Governor Bradford's Call to the First Thanksgiving, given in perfect English by a little girl of twelve of foreign birth, and I am reminded of Dr. Hale's saying that "the public school is the stomach of the nation that digests everything that is put into it."

What shall be the new American? He shall be the product of the ages; he shall not be hampered, but instructed, by the record of the past. Maybe he will have to study the question with Winthrop whether we shall have church *and* state, or with Roger Williams whether we shall have church *without* state, or with the French Revolution whether we shall have state and *no church*. But the passage of his mind through these historic periods will be the fitting of his mind to guard against economic eccentricity. The student of life must look backward as well as forward. Temperament may enter into its construction, but there must appear mutual interaction of obligation and aspiration; eagerness and reverence will come to its relief, and the form of eccentricity that it will have most to guard against will be that which prohibits individualism, which makes the lessons of the past seem like fossil remains; or that worst form of all, a selfishness as individual as a squid, which betrays its presence only by the discoloration of its environment and depends on that for its protection, obliterating all its relationships because of its individual alarm. For that there is no cure! That is the acquisitive power which knows no relaxing of its grasp, and the self-absorption which knows no generosity.

I have tried in this Annual Address, in a very imperfect way, to call your attention to that study of history which shall make us a part of the past so completely that we shall be saved from the economic eccentricity which would prevent us as a Nation from being a useful part of the present, or a considerable element in the future.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Hon. JAMES A. ROBERTS,
New York City.

Whether there be a philosophy of history, i. e., a law which controls the course of the nation as law controls the revolutions of our planet, and whether that law be cognizable with our present knowledge and intelligence, is a mooted but most interesting question. So far as we have been able to penetrate nature's arcana, everything seems subject to law,—the stars in their courses, inanimate objects on our globe, the creation and development of life, all follow the laws of their existence. That men aggregated in national life should not develop and pass away as chance dictates, but that they should follow in their creation, progress and decay some fixed and abiding law would seem a logical deduction in reasoning from analogy. The importance of knowing that law, if it exists, cannot be overestimated. With that knowledge a nation's course might be so shaped as to avoid the pitfalls which always wait on the violation of law. A nation's course might be so plain that he would be most unpatriotic and wicked who seeks to draw or drive it into another course. Thus far small progress has been made in bringing such a law to light. We know that nations spring into being from the law of affinity, from the law of interest, the law of might, and the poet was simply repeating the experience of the ages when he said:

"Ill fares the land, to hasten ills a prey,
When wealth accumulates and men decay."

In all the years of man's existence in national life only a very few brief clauses of a great volume of law have been discovered. Hegel, student and philosopher, called his great work on history "the Philosophy of History," but he laid down no law of orderly progress in history. He sought at most "to reduce the past to some logical formula".

If we may reason from analogy as to the existence of a law of national progress, may we not also reason in the same way as to the probability of discovering that law? In whatever direction one turns in a scientific investigation, he is profoundly impressed with the limitation of human powers and attainments. Despite the rapid advance which science has made, we are still as far as ever from solving the mystery of life and of thought. In every problem involving the human equation, the difficulty of its solution is seemingly insurmountable. As there are no two human beings that look alike, so there are no two that think alike. Thought rules the world, it rules the nation. The course of a nation like ours is directed by the combined thoughts of its people, each modified by contact with the thoughts of others; and no person is so humble but that his thought has an effect, like the pebble cast into the sea which is said to send a vibration to its farther shore. The direction of any person's thought depends upon very many conditions, upon climate, diet, environment, and a thousand things beside. Thought in a way may be directed and controlled but it is at best capricious, and to find the law that controls the combined thought of millions of people is certainly a labor for an intellectual Hercules.

It would seem as though the results attained by political economy, which is the philosophy of business and commerce, might be taken as a fair illustration of the results which may be expected from the Philosophy of History. It was one hundred and thirty-three years ago that Adam Smith brought out his great work, "The Wealth of Nations," and since his day works on political economy have increased and multiplied. Who, however, except the chronic pessimist, has ever been able to predict a panic, and what nation with all its knowledge of the science of trade and commerce has ever been able to avoid one? It is an interesting fact, (which is inadequately and unsatisfactorily explained by the high sounding words over production and over speculation), that business moves in cycles of greater or less length. The first panic in our country after the adoption of our constitution was in 1797, the next in 1817, the next in 1837 and the next in 1857. Our civil war created a condition so abnormal that the next came in 1873, the next in 1893,

and the final in 1907, if this last be considered as rising to the magnitude of a panic. With two breaks panics have come to our country almost as regularly as the swing of the pendulum, but why it is so has never been satisfactorily explained. It has been openly charged that the panic of 1907 was precipitated by certain interests in Wall Street to accomplish selfish purposes and incidentally to teach some high officials the important *laissez faire* theory of business. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that a half dozen interests in our country could precipitate a panic at almost any time they might choose. By what fixed rule can a philosopher forecast when the ambition or greed of the very few may precipitate a crisis and change the course of history?

The friends of the science of history are not united among themselves as to what is the determining cause of a nation's course. According to one group, it is geography, climate, environment; according to another, the law of economics; the third claim psychology controls, and the psychology of the masses is the key that unlocks the nation's future, although it is admitted that the key itself is not easy to find nor to handle when found; a fourth believes that in an accurate knowledge of sociology lies the true scientific principle governing historical development. Probably the science of history lies in a combination of these and many things beside. Voltaire was not the first nor yet the last to demonstrate that very often the greatest events in history have arisen from the most trifling causes, the pride of a ruler, the vanity of a mistress, or the frenzy of the multitude. To find the value of x in the human equation is at all times difficult and to be able to foretell what a large aggregation of humanity will do in a given period of time is almost admitting the truth of the doctrine of fatalism or foreordination. It is to be hoped that the search for the science of history will not again precipitate the world into an angry discussion of the doctrines of free moral agency and predestination.

It would seem as though for many years to come the aim of the conscientious historian must be to collect and correlate facts, ascertain their causes and, so far as possible, trace the true chain of cause and effect through the long course of events; then perchance some time in the future an intellectual giant may be able to

deduce from the fact thus gathered some definite principle of the science of history.

It has come to be regarded as the President's specific task to present at the annual meeting of the Association a brief review of such works on American history as have appeared during the previous year. In my presentation this year, I have purposely omitted mention of all books which have received the attention of *The American Historical Review*, feeling that our members have been much more intelligently informed through that source of the merits or defects of the books reviewed than it would be in my power to accomplish. I have confined my list rather to such books as have come to my attention which have not been the subject of a review either from lack of space in the magazine or because they were regarded as of inefficient general interest. As the purpose of our Association is particularly to deal with events and characters in our own State, I can be excused for occupying so much space over publications relating to the events which have this year been the subject of two notable celebrations within our borders, the Champlain Tercentenary and the Hudson-Fulton. I doubt not that even now much has been omitted which is worthy of mention.

Popular interest in American history has been greatly stimulated the past year by the various celebrations in honor of notable events or characters associated with the nation's annals. The Champlain Tercentenary, the Hudson Fulton celebration, the Lincoln and Poe and Holmes centenary observances and those commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Thomas Paine have combined to kindle the imagination respecting momentous occurrences and great figures having part in the evolution of the Republic. Some books, many magazine articles and tons of newspaper matter bearing on these historical observances have seen publicity in some form, all with their influence in the direction of stimulating patriotism and awakening the desire for greater intelligence on such subjects.

The Champlain and Hudson Fulton celebrations have led to the publication of several books and of magazine articles worthy of note; one of these, the article in the *Outlook* by Hamilton W. Mabie giving an interesting and scholarly resume of the history of the

Lake Champlain region and forming the substance of his address at Plattsburg during the week of the Tercentenary. "A History of Lake Champlain" is the title of a volume which came out about the time of the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the lake. The author is Walter Hill Crockett and the publishers Hobart L. Shanley & Co.

The Champlain tercentenary was also the subject of historical articles in the Travel Magazine, New Age, and New England Magazine nor should one forget the historical review prepared by our honored member Frank H. Severance for the preliminary report of the Tercentenary Commission. Notable pamphlets on this and the Hudson Tercentenary were published by the educational department of the State and widely circulated with the special view of stimulating teachers to instruct their pupils as to the significance of the events to be commemorated. Perhaps the most important work connected with the Champlain Tercentenary is the life of Commodore Thomas Macdonough by his grandson, Rodney Macdonough, which came out a few weeks previous to the exercises on the historic lake where during the war of 1812 Commodore Macdonough achieved the deeds which did so much to bring that contest to a close not wholly discreditable to our reputation as a nation. The author acknowledges his debt in the preparation of the work to the autobiography left by Macdonough, covering the period from 1800, when he entered the navy, to 1882. The volume, which comes from the Fort Hill Press of Samuel Usher, Boston, opens with a fine engraving of the hero from the portrait by Gilbert Stewart. It is embellished with several illustrations, among them diagrams showing the relative positions of the contending forces in the famous engagement near Plattsburg, Sept. 11, 1814, and a half tone engraving of Davidson's painting of that Battle. The account of Commodore Macdonough's movements in his encounter with the British on Champlain waters is very full and interesting.

Closely connected with the era of Champlain is the period which forms a portion of Reuben G. Thwaite's theme in his "History of Wisconsin." The author was for many years superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Association and is an authority on the history of the upper Mississippi Valley.

In connection with the Hudson-Fulton celebration the Scribners have added to their series known as the Original Narratives of Early American History a volume entitled "Narratives of New Netherlands." The first narrative in the book is Van Meteren's account, from his History of Hudson's Third Voyage. This is followed by other narratives to the number of about a score, reproducing the most significant passages from the writings of contemporaneous historians dealing with the beginnings of New York City. One of the volumes appearing in connection with the Tercentenary of Hudson's discovery is that by Thomas A. Janvier, who wrote "The Dutch Founding of New York," "In Old New York," and some other works of similar character. His new book is entitled simply "Henry Hudson" and is published by the Harper's. It is sufficiently compressed not to burden the lighter readers, and yet contains fresh historic material only recently discovered and now secured by Janvier with the authorization of certain historical societies abroad. This material concerns the debated mutiny on Hudson's ship, as a result of which it has been supposed that the explorer was cast adrift to starve and freeze in the bay that bears his name.

The character of Hudson has also been taken as the central figure for a work of fiction, Doubleday, Page & Company having just brought out a story by Madox Hueffler, author of "English and the English," entitled, "The Half Moon."

The earlier scenes of the story are laid in the ancient town of Rye, England. The personality of Hudson, his ambitions as an explorer, his new world adventures and the romance surrounding his tragic fate from a subject of fascinating interest which is well handled in the story.

William Elliott Griffis, too, has chosen this general subject as the theme of his latest historical work. It is entitled "The Story of New Netherland" and is published by the Houghton, Mifflin Company. Dr Griffis, whose writings have unusual charm for the general reader and those of the young generation, describes in this book the conditions and motives which sent Hudson on his voyage, and the conditions in Europe which resulted in the planting of a colony on Manhattan Island.

He shows the falsity of many conceptions about the Dutch Colonists and corrects many erratic notions about their habits and forms of speech which have come to have general acceptance. As preparation for the writing of the book he studied local records throughout the region wherein the Dutch colonists dwelt, the books and papers preserved in the State library and in "the deacon's chest" in Schenectady, and made research among the archives of the Netherlands. But even more important than this study, which gave him access to original sources, he counts his intimate acquaintances with the descendants of the colonists, whose families are rich in traditions, heirlooms, and documents. Another important contribution to the literature called forth by the Hudson-Fulton celebration comes by way of Holland where Mr. Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague has reprinted a book entitled "Henry Hudson in Holland" written by Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn, in 1859. He was a man of considerable historical learning and was minister to the Hague when he wrote this monograph on Hudson which was printed at the time only for private distribution.

In point of time the establishment of the Dutch Colony on Manhattan Island and of the English Colony on Massachusetts Bay by the Pilgrim Fathers came pretty close together. The latter subject is treated in a work by Charles Stedman Hanks entitled "Our Plymouth Forefathers," and published by Dana Estes & Co. It devotes especial attention to the business side of the colonization in Massachusetts and the shrewdness and common sense of the colonists in making the most of their resources. Their relations with the Indians and their social, religious and civil life are also set forth. In this connection it is interesting to make note of the tablets unveiled in Holland the past year, in part through the prompting of Dr. Griffis in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers and of the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston. Inasmuch as the Pilgrim Fathers lived in Holland before coming to America there is a close connection between the history of the two colonies founded so nearly at the same time on Manhattan Island and in Massachusetts. The tablet in honor of the Pilgrims was unveiled in the English Church in the Begyn Hof, the 14th Century edifice of the Begyn nuns in the principal street of Amsterdam, that in memory of Rev. Dr.

Livingston was erected in the University of Utrecht. Dr. Livingston was a graduate there and was a pioneer of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. Rutgers College was developed largely through him and this institution participated in the erection of the memorial. "The History of the New York City of the Seventeenth Century" by Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer is closely connected with the Hudson symposium as it deals in the first volume with New Amsterdam. The second volume is concerned with "New York under the Stuarts." In the first volume attention is focussed on the settlement planted by the Dutch, on the Island of Manhattan. There is much of interest in connection with this same period in a volume by William Harper Bennett entitled "Catholic Footprints in Old New York," a chronicle of Catholicity in the City of New York from 1524 to 1708." Mr. Bennett writes in substantiation of the claim that Giovanni de Varrazano visited New York Harbor in 1524 and that the French traded with the Mohawks and were familiar with the river long before Hudson's time. By way of illustrating how intolerant some of the laws were in respect to Roman Catholics even as late as Revolutionary times it is recalled that in 1700 a law was passed condemning all priests of this faith to perpetual imprisonment and during the Revolution it was evoked against Abbe de la Motte, Chaplain of a French frigate captured by the English. He asked for permission to celebrate mass and being refused and not understanding the language perfectly, considering that his request had been granted, performed the service and was imprisoned for a year in the old Provost jail.

"Hearts Triumphant" is a romance by Edith Sessions Tupper having its scenes in Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days and located in and around the Jumel mansion, so often made the subject of reminiscences of the early days of the republic. The Columbia University Press has issued a contribution to Revolutionary history by Dr. Robert Livingston Schuyler entitled "The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government." There was more importance than is often realized in the events which transpired in what is now the Middle West while the patriots of the eastern coast were fighting for independence. The past summer a monument was dedicated in Illinois to General George Rogers

Clark whose exploits in Illinois made possible the incorporation of this great tract of wilderness in after years into the Union.

Related to this work in interest is Dr. Curwood's "Great Lakes" published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The book gives an insight by its description of the vast resources which supply commerce to the lakes and business to the lake cities, into the momentous nature of the events which determined whether the Middle West of today should be a possession of a European power or of the United States.

The Revolutionary period and that immediately following are those in which the scenes are laid connected with the life of that saintly divine, Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut. A new memoir of the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States has been prepared by his great grandson, William Jones Seabury and published by Edwin S. Gorham. His career was associated with a notable controversy as to the right of the English bishops to consecrate a bishop for the Episcopalians in the new republic, a controversy which led to Dr. Seabury's going to Scotland and obtaining consecration at the hands of the Scottish Episcopate. This memoir is quite complete in its account of these proceedings and of the part Bishop Seabury took in American affairs in later years.

Fulton was supposed to share equally with Hudson in the honors of recent celebration but in some respect the inventor was rather over-shadowed in the attention given the discoverer and explorer. The literature of the period, however, has contained much about Fulton, one of the most important of these productions being the volume "Robert Fulton and the Clermont" by Alice Crary Sutcliffe, great granddaughter of the inventor. Special interest naturally attaches to anything written about Fulton by one of his descendants and the author has had the advantage of possession of data and documents which enabled her to add materially to the knowledge of the public in respect to Fulton and his achievements. The book forms an authoritative story of Fulton's early experiments, persistent efforts and final success and contains many of his hitherto unpublished letters, drawings and pictures.

It presents the inventor's character in such a way as to show how varied were his achievements not only as an inventor but as an artist, sufficiently talented to win recognition from the exclusive British Royal Society, and as a scholar and student of affairs. In fact as the author puts it, "he was not only an inventor, he was a reformer, a statesman, and a patriot. It is characteristic that in his writings he capitalized the word "ideas" and spelled "money" with a small initial. Thus as the world gauges success he died poor, yet as a century translates that poverty it becomes golden with a wealth of honor."

About the Niagara River and its surrounding territory there is a romantic atmosphere which has proved exceedingly fascinating to historians. One of the latest to take up the theme is Archer Butler Hulbert, Professor of American History at Marietta College and author of "The Ohio River," "Historic Highways of America," etc. "The Niagara River," his latest work, records the chief events in the remarkable history of this stream and is embellished with seventy beautiful and interesting illustrations. Another historic section is the subject of a profusely illustrated book by Katherine M. Abbott entitled "Old Paths and Legends of the New England Border."

The great Northwest and its history have been receiving considerable attention in literature of historical and descriptive character the past year. An important volume of this kind is the Reverend Dr. Myron Eedl's posthumous work entitled "Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot." It is an appreciative sketch of one of the bravest and noblest of the pioneers of the Northwest, a man who went into that section in 1835 as a missionary and died there in 1847 a victim of an Indian massacre. Whitman is commonly credited with having saved Oregon to the Union, for its value was not appreciated by the American statesmen of the time and many believe that England would have obtained it but for Whitman's heroic journey across the Continent in the winter 1842 to convince the Government at Washington that possession of the territory was of the utmost importance to the future of the nation. Criticisms of Dr. Eedl's book agree that it has gone very fully into these claims in behalf of Dr. Whitman, perhaps more exhaustively

than has ever been done before. The author reached two conclusions, first, that there was real cause for the fear at the time Whitman started for the East that Oregon would be traded off to England, and second, that Whitman averted the danger. The author came into much of the information used in the book through his father's association with Whitman in the missionary field.

Another work about the Oregon region is that by William Dennison Lyman entitled "The Columbia River," its History, Its Myths, Its Scenery, Its Commerce." The author's parents were among the pioneers on the banks of the Columbia in 1849 and he has thus been familiar from earliest years with the things he relates in his book about the legendary lore of the Indians, the discovery of the river by the white men, the quarreling for its possession, the beating back of the red man, the clearing of land, and building up of towns and cities where the wilderness spread everywhere but a little time before.

Related in theme to the foregoing work is "The History of Washington," in four volumes, beautifully printed and illustrated by the Century History Company. It presents a striking story of the rise and progress of the young State of Washington which this year is especially before the public on account of the very interesting and successful exposition that has been given in one of its principal cities, Seattle. The author of the work is Charles A. Snowden. The books just mentioned pertain to the narrative of the expansion of our territory as a nation. This story is also told in a very readable, comprehensive and scholarly way by H. Addington Bruce.

"The Romance of American Expansion" is the title which Mr. Bruce gives to a volume comprising a series of historical and biographical studies published originally in the Outlook. Mr. Bruce has a very attractive style and in telling the story of expansion through the lives of eight men who figured chiefly in it has produced a volume that is more than usually readable as well as instructive. The eight men whose relation to expansion are described are Boone, Jefferson, Jackson, Houston, Benton, Fremont, Seward and McKinley.

"Nelson and Other Naval Studies" is the title of a book by James R. Thursfield, M. A., some eighty pages of which are devoted to the life and achievements of John Paul Jones. It is the work of an Englishman and this is said to be the first time that Jones' name as a naval officer and strategist has been united with the idea of laurels and praise in an English work with the exception of that of the late Lord Beaconsfield. Usually the gallant American Admiral has been represented in British books as a pirate, a renegade and a traitor, therefore it is the more gratifying that at last his character is presented in a different guise to the English public.

The period of anti-slavery agitation is covered in several works recently issued having to do with the issues of the middle and early part of the last century. One is Theodore D. Jervey's volume entitled "Robert Y. Haynes and his times." The author endeavors to clear away much of the misunderstanding that he claims has obscured the real character of this Statesman.

Another work is "Recollections of Seventy Years," by Frank B. Sanborn, last of the Concord transcendentalists. Part of the book is devoted to the author's political experiences before the Civil War, especially his connection with the Free Soil fight in Kansas and the John Brown raid. A third book of this character is "The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise," by P. Ormon Ray, of the Faculty of the Pennsylvania State College, and a fourth dealing with a similar period is the part of the life, letters and speeches of James Buchanan running through the years from 1841 to 1846, when Buchanan was a Senator and Secretary of State under Polk. The volumes covering this period constitute the fifth, and sixth in the series, Professor James Bassett Moore being the editor.

Among the volumes called forth by the Hudson-Fulton celebration is the "Historical Guide to the City of New York," edited by the City History Club. Another is "Dutch New York," by Esther Singleton.

"Letters and Memorials of Garrison," is a volume of biographical nature of importance.

THE EXECUTIVE RELATION OF NEW YORK STATE TO HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, State Historian.

Mr. President, Members of the New York State Historical Association, Ladies and Gentlemen.— At the last annual meeting of this Association, held in the city of Albany, I had the honor to address you on “The Function of State Historian of New York.” That address has been printed in your last volume of Proceedings. As it is not obligatory upon the State Historian to make an annual administration report, and as I had no official provision for informing those who are interested about the character and conduct of my office, I welcomed the privilege of procuring a separate pamphlet issue of the address, in an edition of five hundred copies, printed and circulated at my personal expense, for the good of the cause. You may remember that I recounted without reservation, the duties of the State Historian, as provided by statute; the limitations of opportunity involved in the operation of the law; the amount of appropriations made for conducting the work, and what had actually been accomplished during my tenure in office. I presented, moreover, a detailed statement of the conduct of the public records in European countries and in the States of the United States; showed the laxity of New York toward the proper administrative care of the public records throughout the State; pointed out specific instances of recent cases of lost records of importance, and suggested the immediate necessity of legislation for reforming the situation and preventing a continuance of abuses. I said: “It matters not to me whether this added burden of responsible work is placed upon my shoulders, or whether others are charged with it. The main thing is, *get the work going!* It is the concern of every serious investigator in the State and without the State. It is a

duty which the State owes to itself now and to the generations yet unborn."

Now, I had accepted the office of State Historian with the distinct understanding that it must not be a sinecure, and that I would use every effort to put the department upon a scientific historical basis, as to methods of publication and in advocating the State's supervision of the care and custody of the public records. It may be said here, that the recurrence of the personal pronoun in this address is due to the nature of the materials—not from egotistic proclivities, for I learned many years ago that "Pride goeth before a fall."

Almost immediately after taking my oath of office, I began to prepare a bill which embodied the above mentioned ideas. This bill was circulated in typewritten form among a number of the best known historical scholars in the United States, and was discussed in person and by correspondence with the utmost care. This embryonic bill was then reconstructed into its proper legal form by the best of legal advisers. For reasons that are now immaterial, the bill was not introduced at once, but was laid aside for introduction in the legislature of 1909. It was introduced in the Senate on January 18, 1909, by the Hon. Henry W. Hill, of Buffalo, a member of the Senate Finance Committee and chairman of the Senate Committee on Codes, and in the Assembly, on January 20th, by the Hon. James A. Francis, of New York, a member of the Ways and Means Committee and Chairman of the Committee on Banks. The ultimate text of this bill was as follows:

"AN ACT

"To amend the executive law, relating to the powers and duties of the state historian.

"The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

"Section 1. Section ninety of chapter twenty-three of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled 'An act in relation to

executive officers, constituting chapter eighteen of the consolidated laws,' is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Section 90. Appointment of State Historian.—The governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, a state historian, whose duty it shall be to collect, collate, compile, *index or calendar and* I edit and prepare for publication all official records [, memoranda and data] *and other historical materials* relative to the colonial wars, war of the revolution, war of eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican war, [and] war of the rebellion, *and Spanish-American war*, together with all official records [, memoranda and statistics] *and other historical materials* affecting the relations between this [commonwealth] state and foreign powers, between this state and other states and between this state and the United States.

"Section 2. Said chapter is hereby amended by inserting therein four new sections to be sections ninety-two, ninety-three, ninety-four and ninety-five thereof, to read, respectively, as follows:

"Section 92. *The state historian may communicate with state and local officers of this state who are entrusted by law with the care or custody of any books, records, documents, or materials of historic value, for the purpose of ascertaining the character and condition of such materials of historic value. He may visit any public office in the state, and shall have access at all reasonable times to any such materials as may be therein; and he is authorized to index, calendar or have photographed any such materials.*

"Section 93. *All state and local officers are hereby authorized and empowered, with the approval of the state historian, to deliver to him for permanent preservation in the New York state library any books, records, documents, or materials of historic value, in their care or custody, and which are not in current use in their respective offices, provided, however, that before any*

1 Explanations—Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

material which might or could in any way relate to or affect a title to real estate can be surrendered under authority of this section to the state historian, a true and correct copy thereof, certified as such by the officer in whose care or custody the original is, must be placed on file in place thereof, and there must be indorsed thereon memoranda showing the disposition of the original; and in all actions and proceedings the certified copy of such original, so filed, shall be received in evidence with like force and effect as though the original were produced and offered in evidence, and certified copies thereof shall be received in evidence with like force and effect as would be certified copies of such original.

“Section 94. No state or local officer shall destroy, sell, or otherwise dispose of any records, original or copied, or of any archives, in his care or custody or under his control, without first having advised the state historian of their nature and having received from him a permit in writing to destroy, sell or otherwise dispose thereof.

“Section 95. Subdivision 1. The state historian shall make an annual report to the legislature, in which shall be stated in concise form the work done by him during the year ending December thirty-first, including a statement of works published, of works in course of publication, of materials ready for publication and of materials in course of preparation for publication.

“Subd. 2. There shall be published as a part of the legislative printing of this state such official records, historical materials, indexes and calendars, prepared for publication under authority of this act, as the state historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. Of every such publication there shall be an edition of such size as the state historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. The printing of all such publications shall be subject to the supervision of the state printing board, as other state printing. All plates made for any such publication or publications shall belong to the state and, after the printing of the first edition, all such plates shall be preserved as, and for as long a time as, the state printing board shall deem advisable.

“Section 3. Section ninety-one of said chapter is hereby amended to read as follows:

“Section 91. Term of office, salary and expenses.—[Said] *The appointment of the state historian* is to continue for a period of four years from date thereof. Said historian shall receive for his services [the sum] *a salary* of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum [, which shall included all necessary traveling expenses], and he shall have the power to employ a chief clerk, whose compensation shall not exceed fifteen hundred dollars per year.

“Section 4. This act shall take effect immediately.”

On January 25th, I received word by telephone that the Commissioner of Education would be pleased to have me call at his office during the day. I had no inkling of the purpose of the invitation. When I paid my visit, he said: “I have wanted to see you about the bill you have had introduced, and to suggest that you withdraw it and put in another. I think it would be better to put your office under the State Education Department. There are no politics whatever in the State Education Department. You could do there all you want to do, and get all the money you need, without the present difficulties of obtaining appropriations every year. You have a limited term, but could then be assured of a permanent position, subject to good behavior. Think it over. I don’t ask you to settle it right now. Talk to your friends about it. Talk with the governor about it. If you agree to my proposition, draw another bill in the way you think it ought to be drawn, and I will agree to anything that is reasonable.” The whole thing was sprung upon me so suddenly and unexpectedly, that I was embarrassed. I hardly knew how to reply. I remember that I suggested that county clerks, city clerks, surrogates clerks and others charged with the custody of the local records would be likely to object to supervision by the State Education Department. He said there was no need of fear in that respect, as he had friends at court, whom he named, who could arrange that easily. He said he had often thought of having the State Historian’s office consolidated with the State Education Department, to save it from political entanglements. I replied that my bill had been considered for a long time by disinterested historical scholars. They desired its passage and conceived its functions to be of the nature of a State

record commissioner, and that I could not then see a way for withdrawing the bill. I said that I had no selfish personal motives, desired the best results, invited a large amount of additional work, without increase of salary, and did not wish to stand in the way of any legislation that would be the best for the State. We parted with the understanding that I would think it over.

At that time I was working on an average more than twelve hours per day. All my energies were devoted to my editorial work, preparatory to submitting volumes for publication to the legislature. I conferred, however, with several persons who were my advisers, and received letters from others commending the bill. Dr. Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution, wrote: "I should think that it [the bill] was well drawn and, if it passed, would give you plenty to do. I hope that it will go through without difficulty. If, however, any mode occurs to you by which I may be useful, I shall be glad to be invoked." Dean Hull, of Cornell University, said he hoped the bill "will prove to encounter no opposition. But if it does I am sure all of us interested here will chip in our respective trifles of influence in its favor." Professor Salmon, of Vassar College, replied: "The bill you enclose interests me very much,—it seems to me to provide for an ideal plan for unifying the historical interests of the State, inasmuch as it contains the unifying germ."

On February 12th, seizing the leisure of a holiday, I made a special visit to New York City for a conference with Professor Osgood, of Columbia University, who was my closest adviser in professional circles. I told my friends that I did not wish to have my personality interfere with the attaining of the best results. The only thing, I said, is to get results in the proper and best way. I was advised to stand by my bill. It was suggested that there was no collision of ideals, but the State Historian's work should be improved by legislation, as provided in the bill, without involving the matter and jeopardizing the desired reforms. I reported these conclusions to the Commissioner of Education, and he manifested considerable chagrin. He said: "If those are your conclusions, I don't want to talk any more about the matter. I have a meeting with the Regents in five minutes, and have no further time now."

As I had completed my mission, I assumed that this ended the matter, and that my bill would not be antagonized, because the Commissioner of Education had said: "I won't do anything to hurt you."

Our bill was advanced to third reading in Assembly, on March 22d. Immediately, Professor Osgood was apprized of the fact. He wrote (March 25th): "I do indeed rejoice with you at the news which was contained in your last letter. I hope to hear by your next that the bill has been passed by the Senate and signed by the governor. I can see that by your editing and researches among local records you can erect a standard in such work which will have a national significance. I certainly hope that under your lead New York will be reclaimed from the low down reputation which it has now in such matters." On March 31st, the bill was on the calendar for third reading and passage in Assembly. I was astounded to learn that the Commissioner of Education demanded a hearing on the bill. Assemblyman Francis, with my acquiescence, agreed to withhold the bill, and asked the Commissioner of Education to have his hearing on that day. He said he had another engagement, and Mr. Francis agreed to defer the hearing for another week. Meanwhile, hundreds of letters were written to members of the Ways and Means Committee requesting the favorable consideration of the bill in its original form. Professor Flick, of Syracuse University, wrote: "In behalf of myself and colleagues I wish to say that we shall deem it the greatest aid to historical scholarship in this State, if your committee can secure the passage [of the bill]. This measure will go far toward putting us in the lead in this excellent work." Mr. Robert M. Hartley, historian of the Montgomery County Historical Society, urged the passage of the bill, and wrote: "Let the good work prosper—I will do all I can." Mr. Edmund Platt, publisher of "The Poughkeepsie Eagle," wrote: "I have very strongly urged the passage of the bill and asked them to point out to me what possible objection there can be to it. It seems to me to contain many valuable features and certainly ought to be passed." Professor Andrews, of Johns Hopkins University, wrote to the legislative committee: "I can say without hesitation that the failure of this bill to pass would be nothing short of a

public calamity, not only for New York State but for the cause of historical research throughout the country." And he added: "All interested in archives welcomed the appointment of Mr. Paltsits as State Historian as the most encouraging event in the history of public archives in this country, because it was the appointment (and almost the only one) of an expert who knew his business and had the confidence of historians. The bill which he is anxious to have passed meets with equal approval and its passage would do something to remove the disgrace that now attaches to us for the wholesale neglect of our records. The conditions of the bill are eminently satisfactory. . . . We have no reason to be proud of our record and it is even more to our discredit that when a real beginning is made by a great State like New York and a competent man like Paltsits is in charge with a measure of results all approve some one is found to object." Professor Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, wrote to the legislative committee: "After a careful examination of it [the bill] I hope that I may be permitted, as one deeply interested in the furtherance of historical interests, to say that the amendments appear to me to be excellent and eminently worthy of adoption. Without doing any harm to other interests, so far as I can see, or encroaching in any way on the province of other officials, they will make it possible for the State Historian to do in a better manner the work which has hitherto belonged to his office. They will aid in making the product a credit to the state. They will help to bring the historical work of the state to the high level on which historical work is conducted in the best European and American governments. They also add functions with respect to the preservation of documentary materials which might otherwise be destroyed; and this is a function of the highest importance, which ought in every government to be lodged in the hands of an historical expert." Professor Shepherd of Columbia University, wished me "every success in the immensely useful work which has been placed *at last* in competent hands;" and to the committee he wrote: "As one who is desirous of having the historical records of the state of New York properly cared for, I venture to bespeak your favorable consideration of the bill now pending in the Assembly Mr. Paltsits, the present his-

torian, has the full confidence of all who appreciate the value of his office and his own particular efforts in its behalf. To make his duties thoroughly successful in outcome he needs just the kind of support for which the bill provides. By exerting your influence to the fullest extent for the passage of the act in its present form you will be performing an unusually valuable public service.” Professor Dunning, of Columbia University, wrote to the committee: “I beg to ask your favorable attention to a bill now pending in relation to the powers and duties of the State Historian. . . . I sincerely hope that you will be disposed to promote the passage of the bill in order to secure the ends it has in view. It would be a real calamity if the object in view in this bill should now fail of realization through any obstacle to its passage.” Professor Giddings, of Columbia University, expressed his anxiety, and wrote: “I hope to hear that the bill has gone through.” Professor H. A. Cushing, of Columbia University, wrote to the committee: “To all familiar with what has been done elsewhere along these lines, and familiar also with what little has been done by our own State, the principle of this Bill must appeal as perfectly sound and commendable. Now also is an especially favorable time to grant such an extension of power, as the present State Historian is eminently qualified to use such powers in a proper manner and in such a way as to produce results of value. I trust the Bill may have the endorsement of your Committee.” Professor Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, wrote to the committee: “In behalf of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, I am led to address you this letter in support of the proposed measure relating to a bill to amend the executive law relating to the powers and duties of the State Historian. . . . Mr. Paltsits has consulted him [Professor Os-good] and other members of our Commission in connection with this proposed legislation, and it meets with our unqualified approval. . . . I would, therefore, in behalf of our Commission, urge most strongly the passage of this bill.” Professor Mace, of Syracuse University, wrote to the committee: “I write you briefly in favor of Assembly Bill 252,—which relates to the duties of State Histor-

ian. The people of the State who are interested in the Empire State's History and are interested in her taking rank with other States in matters of History are deeply concerned about this bill. There exists the greatest necessity for its passage, and I hope, Sir, that you will see that nothing stands in its way that you have the power to prevent." Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, professor of administrative law in Columbia University, wrote to the committee: "There is great need that a work like this should be done. It is being done in nearly all the states of the Union and is demanded in every intelligent community. Mr. Paltsits is an officer who can safely be entrusted to do it well. His bill should receive the support of every assemblyman." Professor Simkhovitch, of Columbia University, wrote to the committee: "I approve the purpose of the bill which the State Historian, Mr. Paltsits, has caused to be introduced, giving him power to inquire into the condition of local records. An intelligent official like Mr. Paltsits could effect a great reform, and that without interfering with local rights, by finding out what records are in existence and promoting interest in their care. All students of history of the state approve of his measure and desire to see him undertake this work. You will do the state a signal service by using your influence to aid in the passage of this bill." Professor William H. Carpenter, Associate Dean of the Graduate Faculties of Columbia University, wrote to the committee: "I am thoroughly in favor of the present bill introduced by Mr. Francis with regard to the right of the State Historian to inquire into the condition of public records and I greatly hope that the bill may ultimately be passed."

The foregoing endorements are specimens selected from a large body of correspondence, and are sufficient to emphasize the intensity of interest.

The hearing was held, on April 7th, before the Ways and Means Committee. The Commissioner of Education made general objections to nearly every part of the new provisions of the bill. His opposition was characterized wholly by obstruction. I replied to his objections seriatim from a large mass of data in my possession, showing the operation of the laws now existing in other States. A member of the committee, not Mr. Francis, said to me

afterwards: "You answered every objection completely." As a concession to the committee, I favored a compromise, in the way of amendments, and in ten minutes produced the amended bill, which the committee reported out, without further opposition in committee, as follows:

"STATE OF NEW YORK.

3d Rdg. 325.

No. 252, 1493, 2057.

Int. 252.

IN ASSEMBLY,

January 20, 1909.

"Introduced my Mr. FRANCIS—read once and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means—reported from said committee, read a*second time, ordered placed on the order of third reading and referred to the Committee on Revision—reported from the Committee on Revision with recommendations, ordered reprinted and engrossed—reported from said committee with amendments, ordered reprinted as amended and restored to its place on the order of third reading and re-engrossed.

"AN ACT

To amend the executive law, relating to the powers and duties of the state historian.

"The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

"Section 1. Section ninety of chapter twenty-three of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled 'An act in relation to executive officers, constituting chapter eighteen of the consolidated laws,' is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Section 90. Appointment of state historian.—The governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, a state historian, whose duty it shall be to collect, collate, compile, *index or calendar* 1 edit and prepare for publication all official records, [memoranda and data] *and other historical materials re-*

1 Explanation—Matter *in italics* is new; matter in brackets [] is old law to be omitted.

lative to the colonial wars, war of the revolution, war of eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican war, [and] war of the rebellion, and *Spanish-American war*, together with all official records [, memoranda and statistics] and *other historical materials* affecting the relations between this [commonwealth] state and foreign powers, between this state and others states and between this state and the United States.

“Section 2. Said chapter is hereby amended by inserting therein three new sections to be sections ninety-two, ninety-three and ninety-four thereof, to read, respectively, as follows:

“Section 92. *The state historian may communicate with state and local officers of this state who are entrusted by law with the care or custody of any books, records, documents, or materials of historic value, for the purpose of ascertaining the character and condition of such materials of historic value. He may visit any public office in the state, and shall have access at all reasonable times to any such materials as may be therein; and he is authorized to index, calender or have photographed any such materials, subject to such arrangements as may be made with the approval of the said state and local officers.*

“Section 93. *No state or local officer shall destroy, sell, or otherwise dispose of any records, original or copied, or of any archives, in his care or custody or under his control, and which are no longer in current use, without first having advised the state historian of their nature.*

“Section 94. Subdivision 1. *The state historian shall make an annual report to the legislature, in which shall be stated in concise form the work done by him during the year ending December thirty-first, including a statement of works published, of works in course of publication, of materials ready for publication, and of materials in course of preparation for publication.*

“Subd. 2. *There shall be published as a part of the legislative printing of this state such official records, historical materials, indexes and calendars, prepared for publication under authority of this act, as the state historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. Of every such publication there shall be an*

edition of such size as the state historian, with the approval of the governor, shall direct. The printing of all such publications shall be subject to the supervision of the state printing board, as other state printing. All plates made for any such publication or publications shall belong to the state and, after the printing of the first edition, all such plates shall be preserved as, and for as long a time as, the state printing board shall deem advisable.

“Section 3. Section ninety-one of said chapter is hereby amended to read as follows:

“Section 91. Term of office, salary and expenses.—[Said] *The appointment of the state historian is to continue for a period of four years from the date thereof. Said historian shall receive for his services [the sum] a salary of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum [which shall include all necessary traveling expenses], and he shall have the power to employ a chief clerk, whose compensation shall not exceed fifteen hundred dollars per year.*

“Section 4. This act shall take effect immediately.”

One committeemen, writing to one of his correspondents, said: “I agree with you that this bill is all right, and assure you that I shall do all I can to help it along.” Another member wrote: “We had quite a lengthy hearing on this bill, and Dr. Draper, Commissioner of Education, appeared against the bill, in fact he was very much opposed to it. However, we have taken up the Doctor’s grievances and reported the bill in an amended form. Hoping it will be satisfactory to all concerned,” etc. The “Plattsburgh Republican,” of April 24th, printed this caustic editorial: “The peculiarly pervasive and absorbent qualities of the head of the State Board of Education may be well adapted to developing and rounding out a Czar-like personality, but they are not specially fitted to build up what ought to be the most efficient educational system in the United States. The same pervasive qualities have just been reaching out after the State Historian’s office. A bill has just been up before the Legislature which makes some grudging provision for enlarging the functions of that office. The head of the Education Department felt it incumbent to interfere

and make suggestions, and it is very apparent that the Education Department would like to absorb the State Historian and set him at work as a third-class clerk in the bureaucratic monstrosity which the Department is fast becoming." An officer of the Westchester County Historical Society, referring to the attempted absorption, wrote: "We most earnestly trust that you will retain the office of State Historian as it is." Professor Hull, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Cornell University, wrote: "I hope, none-the less, that the bill may pass, leaving your office independent of Draper's, with which I am utterly unable to see that it has any legitimate connection whatever." In a letter to Mr. Francis, which was read on the floor of the House, Professor Hull expressed the same opinion even more emphatically.

My amended bill was passed by the Assembly, on April 15th, on rapid roll-call, with one dissenting vote.

The bill had made no progress in the Senate, and its advocates sought to have it reported out favorably. As the bill had been passed by the Assembly, it naturally was handed up to the Senate committee for concurrence. Senator Hill was unable to get his bill out of the Finance Committee, of which he was a member, and urged the favorable consideration of the Francis bill when it came up in that committee. But on the night of April 21st, unbeknown to Mr. Francis or me, a complete substitution of the Francis bill took place, which showed evidence of having been hastily drawn up under the inspiration of the Commissioner of Education. "There are no politics in the State Education Department!" Every provision of the original bill as to scientific methods of editing, indexing, calendaring and preserving the public records of the State, disappeared. Its chief purpose was to abolish the State Historian's department as an independent executive function of the administrative government, and to subordinate it under the State Education Department, subject to the direction of the Commissioner of Education; the funds to "be expended under the direction of the commissioner of education." The act was to take effect immediately.

As stated, the substitution of the surreptitious bill was made

over night, and this bill was given a place on the printed Senate calendar for third reading and passage before the bill itself had been in type or on the desks of the Senate. For reasons that are evident, no attempt was made to defeat the "fake" bill in the Senate, and it was passed quietly and unnoticed. Naturally, it had to be returned to the Assembly for concurrence in the so-called "amendments." When it reached the Assembly, Mr. Francis had it committed to the Rules Committee, which is the usual way of disposing of a bill when it does not suit the legislator whose name it bears, and this substitute bill actually continued to bear Mr. Francis's name and bill-number, despite his repudiation of it. On the night of April 29th, the night before the last day's session of the legislature, a social of the legislature was held at the Ten Eyck Hotel, and at 10:00 P. M., Mr. Francis first learned that the surreptitious bill had been reported out by the Rules Committee, to come up next morning as the second bill on the calendar. The lobbying of the State Education Department had not rested day or night. Word had gone forth that the substitute measure must be passed. During these four legislative months, I had not only put in full work days, but three hundred and seventy two hours of extra time, or nearly ten weeks of overtime. Could it be that this was not worth while?

The next morning, being the last of the session, the bill was called and, at Mr. Francis's request, laid aside, temporarily. Later it came up again for a vote. It was debated. Mr. Francis, in disowning it, said:

"Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill early in the session giving just a little more authority to the State historian, so that the office might be worth while to the people of the State, that he might be enabled to go out and collect data in a reasonable manner to help in the compilation of the history of this State.

"I have played fair all the way through, and the bill was reported out by the ways and means committee of which I am a member, and the State commissioner of education asked that he be given a hearing on the subject after it was placed on the calendar, and I readily acquiesced and the bill went back to the committee on my request. I saw the commissioner of education and he

told me that on the first meeting day of the ways and means committee, immediately after the recommital, he had an engagement with the Regents of the State. I said, then we will let it go until the next meeting day. And a week from that time, at the hearing, the commissioner of education appeared and made his objections. I did not resist in the least any modification which he might have suggested by his talk before the committee. Furthermore, I accepted amendments made by the chairman of the committee or suggested by him.

“The bill was passed in this house and went to the Senate. In the Senate the bill was handled by Senator Hill. It was amended against the wishes of Senator Hill, and not only amended but it comes back to the house for concurrence an entirely different bill, and a bill that I will not stand for with my name on. I am simply placing the record clear, because I have no fear that the bill will ever become a law. If the time has come when a bill may be jammed down the throat of a member of this legislature without his consent, let us have a vote on that proposition.

“The State historian at the present time is a hard working man, a conscientious man, and, if I may go a little deeper in the subject, a good organization man, a man who has devoted more years and more time to the work of organization than I have. I never had the pleasure of meeting him though until I was requested to introduce his bill.

“It matters little—it matter nothing to me personally what becomes of the bill. The bill in its present form provides that the State historian shall be a clerk of the commissioner of education's department. You know that we are building a great beautiful temple devoted to the cause of the department of education, over the street. It has the Grecian column and it will be one fit for a god to preside over, and the employes therein may well tremble when they hear that magnificent voice. They may kiss the hand of royalty and shiver when he talks; and though I have been here four terms I am frank to say I am just learning some of the subterranean political methods which are employed by the commissioner of education.

“Mr. Speaker, the State historian if given a chance will show what an administrative office the office can be made. The commissioner of education holds nothing more than a pedagogical position. He is not supposed to reach out for this and that department because it has something to do with the cultural interest of the State. If that were true he might go into the Long Island district and take care of the shell fish industry.”

Twenty-five assemblymen voted for the substitute bill and sixty-eight voted against it, so defeating it decisively. The text of that bill was as follows:.

“STATE OF NEW YORK.

3d Rdg. 878.

No. 1481.

Rec. 553.

IN SENATE,

April 21, 1909.

“Assembly bill No. 2057, introduced by Mr. FRANCIS—read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance—reported favorably from said committee, committed to the committee of the Whole, ordered to a third reading, amended and ordered reprinted.

“AN ACT

To amend the education law, relating to the office of state historian, and transferring such office to the education department.

“The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

“Section 1. Article nineteen of chapter twenty-one of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled ‘An act relating to education, constituting chapter sixteen of the consolidated laws, is hereby amended by adding thereto a new section to be known as section three hundred and forty-two and to read as follows:

“Section 342. State Historian.—There shall continue to be a state historian, whose duty it shall be to collect, collate, compile, index or calendar and edit and prepare for publication all official records and other historical materials relative to the colonial wars, war of the revolution, war of eighteen hundred and twelve, Mexican

war, war of the rebellion, and Spanish-American war, together with all official records and other historical materials affecting the relations between this state and foreign powers, between this state and other states and between this state and the United States. The state historian shall perform such other duties and have such powers as may be imposed or conferred by the commissioner of education. Upon the taking effect of this act the office of the state historian shall become a division of the education department and shall be subject to the same provisions of law and rules as the other divisions of such department. Upon the expiration of the term of office of the state historian in office when this act takes effect, or in case a vacancy occurs in such office, his successor shall be appointed by the commissioner of education, with the approval of the regents. All books, papers and records belonging or pertaining to the office of state historian shall, on the taking effect of this act, be transferred to the education department. The clerks and employees in such office at such time shall become clerks and employees in the education department and shall be subject to the same provisions of law and rules as the other clerks and employees of such department.

“Section 2. All money heretofore appropriated for the salary and expenses of the state historian, for the salaries of the clerks and employees in his office, and for the expenses incurred or to be incurred in the performance of his official duties and the maintenance of his office shall be expended under the direction of the commissioner of education in the same manner as other like expenditures for the education department.

“Section 3. Sections ninety and nine-one of chapter twenty-three of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine, entitled “An act in relation to executive officers, constituting chapter eighteen of the consolidated laws,” are hereby repealed.

“Section 4. This act shall take effect immediately.”

In a letter from the chairman of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, he said: “I very much regret the defeat of your bill and the turn which matters took. I had not anticipated any difficulty from that quarter and cannot

see the propriety of attaching to the Educational Department the work of your department. I do not know of any precedent elsewhere of connecting archives work with the Educational Department. It is disappointing to have an effort of progress blocked by those whom one supposed were the friends of his own household." One of the real men in historical circles in this country wrote: "I cannot see what possible advantage the State historianship can be to the Educational Department, or why Draper has interfered." In a second letter the same gentleman added: "I still do not see why Draper interfered, except to increase his power and to display his authority. Either reason is a poor one and only serves to show how hard it is for history to gain proper recognition at the hands of the public officials. You have my sympathy. If I can do anything further please let me know." Dr. Burrage, State Historian of Maine, wrote: "There can be no question that for New York to allow the office of State Historian to be absorbed by the Department of Education or any other Department would be most unwise." A prominent lawyer wrote: "The attitude of the Department of Education on the question of the State Historical Department is quite in keeping with its persistent endeavor to increase its power in other lines. I hope that you will be successful in your fight, that after all is the fight against a dangerous degree of centralization."

Since the adjournment of the legislature, I have had my attention called to an article in the "Educational Gazette," of May, entitled "Imperialism in Education," written by a member of the Syracuse Board of Education. The writer says: "The object of a true educational system should be to awaken initiative; not to centralize all powers in a few hands. It should be to encourage prudent reform, to promote independent experiments, to foster local pride, to develop big men in their efforts to solve vital issues." He continues: "Nothing is more reprehensible than the persistent use of financial threats by the Albany dynasty, through the control of the state educational funds. Resistance to their autocracy, no matter how intelligent, is crushed by pure financial coercion." And again: "The time is coming for a revolt against the imperialistic methods now in vogue. The time has come for all the educa-

tors of the state to unite in educating public sentiment to realize the danger that threatens the educational independence of the state. Organization must be met with organization. There is no doubt that the department at Albany is sincere in its belief of its elemental wisdom. But those who believe in democracy, who have faith that the people are capable of ultimately solving these problems, can have little hesitation in fighting excessive centralization of power in any men, no matter how well intentioned or wise."

The data relative to this issue have been brought into the limelight. I have been wholly consistent from the beginning, and would not barter my honor or throttle my conscience by accepting overtures to dissolve the important administrative duties connected with my office, by scuttling in the ocean of the State Education Department, in exchange for a "permanent position, subject to good behavior." I consider consistency and honor as worth immeasurably more than a place in Albany. It is, then, not a personal matter with me. The question is: "Do the historical societies and persons interested in the history of the State wish to have preserved the present existing executive relation of New York State to historical scholarship, and will they uphold it? Will they watch with the eyes of Argus for preventing the work's assassination in the night time? I thank you for your attention.

THE CAPTURE OF ANDRE.

By MARCIUS D. RAYMOND,
Ex-Editor Tarrytown Argus.

We have no apology to make for presenting for your consideration so trite a subject as the "The capture of Major Andre."

It is an interesting and significant fact that the lapse of a century, and more has not lessened public interest in his capture and the chief actors concerned in it; but later years have witnessed a remarkable revival of it, extending to the minutest memoranda connected even remotely with the affair, including all the attendant circumstances, the personality of the Captors, the exact site of the capture, and even the route by which the noted British Spy approached the spot where he was arrested by the three incorruptible patriots, Paulding, Williams and Van Wart. In fact extensive research has been made, and diffuse newspaper controversy been engaged in, during the recent past, to prove that there were five rather than four of the party who took position on the hill to the eastward, some of whom persistently sought for a portion of the reward given to the Captors. All of which is significant of the great importance which history in its final judgment places upon that act, and the unstinted honor which it awards the chief actors in that drama which has so attracted that attention of the world, and was one of the crises of the Revolution.

The capture was indeed big with fate to the American cause. The plot of Treason successfully carried out would have been most disastrous, but when success seemed assured, the mysterious hand of Providence intervened and dismay fell upon the authors of it. The white winged sails of the Lillies of France with powerful reinforcements for the Patriot army might have been turned back by such a calamity, but the three worthy Patriot Militia Men presented all unwittingly an unsurmountable obstacle. The cause of the country was saved. The French fleet and allies opportunely

arrived. The united armies moved on under the matchless leadership of Washington until the wily Cornwallis was caught in their toils, and his surrender made the 19th of October, of which the meeting of this Association yesterday was a fitting recognition, forever immortal in the annals of this great American Republic.

But why "carry coals to New Castle"—why repeat this story in Westchester County, where every tradition of it is all unconsciously woven into the woof of our local history? Partly to eliminate some manifest errors, so that the clear gold of truth may be made more clearly to appear. For errors, deep-seated have been industriously disseminated, more or less affecting the virtue of the transaction as well as the reputation of those engaged in it—slanders most outrageous have been uttered by some against the Captors themselves, while weak though virulent efforts have been made by others to unsettle public confidence in even the monumental site of the capture, which was definitely determined by at least two of the Captors in after years.

And as to the monument itself, it is astonishing what misconceptions have obtained in regard to it, especially in connection with the monument which Cyrus W. Field caused to be set up at Tappan in honor of Andre. The Tarrytown monument in honor of the Captors of Andre, from being called the Andre Capture Monument, came to be known as the Andre Monument, and hence the deduction by the general public that the monument was in honor of Andre, so that when the monument set up by Mr. Field was thrown down by some indignant patriot, it was quite generally supposed that it was the monument at Tarrytown which had been destroyed; in fact, serious inquiry was made of us by one of the officials in the State Capitol at Boston where we were engaged in making some genealogical researches, in the summer of 1885, as to the condition of the monument here so supposed to have been dynamited. The flash of indignation with which it was answered, that not only was there no monument to Andre in Tarrytown but that the erection of a monument in his honor would never have been permitted there, did not lead him to repeat the question. In this connection, it may not be generally known, that the monument

at Tarrytown came near being destroyed at that time, instead of the one at Tappan, the party who did the work of vandalism having come there for that purpose under the mistaken idea, which so generally prevailed, that this was the Field monument, but on conferring with a fellow countryman in Tarrytown, he learned of his error, and the next morning the Tappan monument was found shattered and thrown from its base. So easy the transposition from a monument to the Captors of Andre, to the Andre Monument, and thence, by induction a monument in his honor.

This monument was dedicated on the 23rd of Sept., 1853. The address was delivered by Henry J. Raymond, and among other distinguished guests present on that occasion was Hon. Horatio Seymour, who took part in the ceremonies. At the Andre Capture Centennial Sept. 23, 1880, there was the largest gathering ever assembled in Westchester County, over 50,000 having been present. Hon. Samuel J. Tilden presided, and the oration was delivered by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew. And from first to last it was a symposium of patriotism. That too showed the great interest in the event after an hundred years.

A distinguished author has interrogatively exclaimed as to whether there was more of truth or error in recorded history, and it may seem a thankless task to attempt to shoot error as it flies, but the Three Incorruptible Patriots have not lacked and shall not lack stout defenders. As to the virtue of their act, Washington put the stamp of approval upon it, in his words recorded with pen of steel upon the Monument in their honor which shall forever herald their fair fame: "Their conduct merits our warmest esteem."

And he invited them to dine with him at his table, and strongly recommended the honor and emoluments which were bestowed upon them by the Continental Congress.

That they hesitated for one moment in their loyalty to duty; that they considered for one instant the alluring bribes offered them by the British Spy is a foul libel upon their unimpeachable character. Yes, he would bribe them. He had just bargained with Gen. Arnold for British gold, and certainly he could buy

his way with these three rustic militia-men with a handful of shining guineas. But no; to his utter surprise they scornfully refused even 1,000 pieces of gold and all the treasures that he could pledge for his safety, and so took him at once to Lieut. Col. Jameson, the commanding officer on the lines, from whom they had received their permit to go on a scout. As to particular proof of this authorization, John Yerks, Jr., who was one of the party of seven, in a statement made Nov. 12, 1845, said: "Before starting on the expedition, we had applied to Capt. Baker, and our other commanding officers, and they had full knowledge of and approved of our enterprise." There can be no doubt in regard to Andre's attempt to bribe them. He well knew the fearful peril of his situation; that an ignominious death was impending and he unquestionably exhausted all the resources at his command to escape. To them it might have been a great temptation, for no one as yet was aware of his capture, and neither could they have fully comprehended its significance and importance, but that they did not for one moment hesitate is evidenced by the fact that they proceeded without delay to take their prisoner to the headquarters of Col. Jameson, the Commandant on the American Lines. It has been said by some of the defamers of these three Incorruptible Patriots, "That every man has his price." The answer to this base slander is that with most men, in the matter of Principle and Patriotism, the price is blood.

It is needless if not impossible to refute all of the misleading statements which have been published about Andre's capture, and those engaged in it, some of them ignorantly and others prejudicially made, but when a writer of the reputation of James Parton lends his name to their endorsement, it is well to give answer to them. In a communication published by the *New York Ledger* in 1876, concerning the capture of Andre, speaking of John Paulding, he said: "Neither at this time nor at any former period had he been even a militia-man," and yet the records show that he had already served at least two terms of enlistment, and had twice escaped from prison in New York, and afterwards was taken prisoner and haled to New York. A valiant Patriot Soldier. Of David Williams he said: "He had served under Montgomery in Canada," and then in close connection with this says that

“Neither of these men at the time belonged to the service, but all of them had occasionally joined in predatory warfare; nor need we suppose that in their scouting expeditions they had always kept within the strict letter of the law.” What a gratuitous and unmitigated slander of these distinguished Patriots. And then he intimates that the four who were stationed on the hill were there on the lookout “lest the American Light Horse should break up the party, for they were engaged in a business which was not specially authorized.” An original conception of a would be historian who was born on the other side of the water with British prejudices and predilections.

Yet in his closing paragraph, Mr. Parton apparently makes an effort to be fair, though he still clings to his assertion that “they were not militia-men:” To quote from him again:

Many of their descendants and connections are still living in Westchester County, with two of whom I was once well acquainted, and was familiar also with the names and reputations of many others. They were the last people in the world whom we could believe to be descended from liars and robbers. I give up Pocahontas; I surrender John Smith; but I hold fast to the “three militia-men,” even though they were not militia men.

Happily we are able to completely repute the foregoing statement that they were not militia men by reference to the official record of New York in the Revolution, compiled by Hon. James A. Roberts, an officer of this Association, while Comptroller of this State. To characterize them as “not Militia-men,” was a cheap attempt to belittle their distinguished public and patriotic services.

They have been called boys, but the youngest of the three, John Paulding, was twenty-two, and the oldest, David Williams, was twenty-five at the time of the capture. They have been called illiterate, but each of them was able to write his name in a good firm hand, and one of them David Williams, is credited as having had a fairly good education for those primitive times.

The “American Light Horse” referred to by Mr. Parton was the organization known as Sheldon’s Light Dragoons, whose commanding officer at that time was Lt. Col Jameson, who had given

the authorization for this party that captured Major Andre, to go on a scout, and it was to him, at North Castle, that they immediately delivered up the Spy, who as yet had only given the name of John Anderson, and the papers found upon him. And their action was unqualifiedly endorsed by him in a communication to Washington date of Sept. 27, 1780, which we discovered among the unpublished Washington Papers while engaged in making historical investigations, only four days after the event, in which he said:

“This note will be delivered to you by John Paulding, one of the young men that took Major Andre, and who nobly refused any sum of money that could be offered. The other two young men that were in company with him are not yet found. As soon as they arrive, they shall be sent on.”

So they were not running around, as some would have us believe, with their hats in their hands, saying, “We have captured Major Andre, and will Uncle Sam please give us a penny!” but like modest, self-respecting men having done their duty went their several ways, and had to be sent for that they might be taken into the presence of the Commander-in-Chief.

The high commendation of Washington, the prompt action of Congress in bestowing a reward of £500, a life pension of \$200, and awarding a Medal to each of them, was not only a suitable recognition of the virtue and importance of their action, but so placed the mark of official approbation and honor upon them.

To particularize a little further in regard to the personalitp of the Captors: Isaac Van Wart continued to reside after the Revolution in the vicinity of Tarrytown near his birthplace and where he died in his 69th year May 23, 1828, a highly respected citizen. The following year, 1829, a Monument was erected in his honor by the citizens of Westchester County in the churchyard at present Elmsford, a large concourse of military and citizens being present.

David Williams, as has been stated, was a member of the expedition that under the gallant Montgomery successfully besieged St. Johns, and later captured Montreal, then pushed on to Quebec, where their heroic leader fell in a desperate assault upon the citadel

of that stronghold on the fatal night of December 31st, 1775. But though baffled and overborne, those brave American Volunteers, in spite of the cold and storms of winter which surrounded them, like Marmion of old lifted the broken fragments of their blades and shouted defiance to the enemy upon the battlements.

Several years after the Revolutionary War, David Williams removed to Schoharie County and spent the remainder of his life on a farm on what is still called Williams Hill near Livingstonville, and there he died August 2nd, 1831, in his 77th year, beloved and respected by all who knew him. A Monument in his honor was erected by the State of New York at Schoharie, in 1876. He was a very interesting character.

John Paulding was the recognized leader of the party that captured Major Andre, and his heroic figure in bronze surmounts the Tarrytown Monument in honor of the Captors. He was a brave and stalwart Patriot Soldier, and many stories of his deeds of prowess are told. It was his close scrutiny that disclosed the fact that Andre was a Spy. He resided near Peekskill, where he died Feb. 18th, 1818, in the 60th year of his age, leaving a large family, one of his sons being the late Hiram Paulding, Admiral in the U. S. Navy. The City of New York erected a Monument at his grave near St. Peter's church in 1827.

The Treason of Arnold stands out in bold contrast with the fidelity and patriotism of the Captors of Andre. He invited temptation and greedily accepted the proffered offers for betraying his country. His life and death were darkened by the disgrace of his infamy. A hero on the battlefield he was amazingly lacking in virtue and moral courage.

Major Andre, with all of his arts and accomplishments is not saved from the obliquy of his bargaining with a Traitor and his ignoble death, though his name is recorded in Westminster Abbey. The stern mandate of Washington called for his execution according to the rules of war. That he did not yield to entreaties exalted him even in the regard of his enemies, who no longer addressed him as "Mr. Washington."

This act of these three immortal Patriots, Paulding, Williams

and Van Wart, of supreme and national importance, will ever shine with the brightest lustre on the pages of our local Revolutionary history. They belonged to the Militia of this locality, and there was never any doubt at any time of their sturdy loyalty to the American cause. It is an especial pride that they were the sons of the Dutch yeomanry, that they were of the baptised children of the old Dutch Church in Sleepy Hollow, and we glory in the fact that they were not only unpurchased, but unpurchasable! Worthy descendants of their fatherland ancestors who waged successful war for thirty years against the most cruel despotism of Europe, while their dykes were the marvel of the world. Their Admiral Van Tromp swept the English Channel and their white winged commerce covered the seas, and Henry Hudson, whose voyage up the lordly Hudson we have just been celebrating, was their *avant courier* in this new world. How much the appearance of the historic Half Moon in these waters had to do with all this, and the wave of emigration of sturdy Dutch Burghers in its wake, is not easy to determine, but that is another story.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HUDSON AND CHAMPLAIN VALLEYS.

By FRANCIS W. HALSEY.

The influences which have built up on the island of Manhattan the metropolis of the West, are familiar to us all. Had there been no great water way, pouring its volume into the harbor of New York, no great canal, connecting that waterway with the western lakes; no railways that found road beds on the shores of the Hudson and along its tributary, the Mohawk, New York would not have become what it is. These facts tell a story of conquest in the world of trade and transportation. They have produced an imperial dominion of which we are all proud and in which we individually may be said to have had some share.

But it is the older and more romantic facts in the moving history of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys that we are to consider here today. From the dawn of American history; from ages far older than white man's civilization on this continent, these valleys have had a great part to play in the fortunes of men—the part that belongs to a central, vital ground in conflicts between races, states and nations. It is a story that has become most memorable to us in the Revolution; but it belongs also to that world-important conflict between France and England, between Latin and Anglo-Saxon forces, for supremacy in North America; and, back of all these, it rises up once more in those aboriginal conquests which made the empire of the Iroquois the greatest feat at arms achieved by the red man in this part of the world.

In the history of the Iroquois, the momentous fact is the League they founded. Somewhere about the time of the coming of Columbus,—and perhaps fifty years before he arrived,—a wise man among these Indians living on Norman's Kill, just below Albany, a spot which the poet has called the "Vale of Tawasentha," induced them to form this federation, thus securing peace among

themselves and the power that union always gives to nations. That wise man was the hero of Longfellow's poem, *Hiawatha*. Under this federation each tribe or nation was to control its own local affairs, very much as the states of this Union now control theirs. Meanwhile, all matters pertaining to war were controlled by a central body, comprising delegates from each nation,—in reality, a senate. For more than three centuries this federation held together, and here on Norman's Kill, and not in the brain of Franklin, Washington, Madison and Jay, this western world saw the beginnings of the federal idea on our soil.

Coming originally from Canada to Central New York, the Iroquois, through their war genius and the natural advantages derived from the lands they lived upon, made themselves masters of half this continent. With Albany for the "eastern door" and Buffalo for the "western door" of what they called their Long House, they made the Mohawk Valley their great highway,—a route that still remains the white man's chief road of travel in New York State. Between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, no lands were so high as theirs. Here were the head waters of great rivers,—the Hudson, the St. Lawrence, the Susquehanna, the Ohio,—marking the highways along which they descended to the conquest of inferior races, far to the south, far to the west.

Potent master spirits they became, with ambitions as imperial as ever inspired the men of Rome. They carried their war cry and their arms to the Mississippi, to Georgia, and even to Mexico. LaSalle found them in Illinois; Capt. John Smith met them in Chesapeake Bay and was told that the Mohawks "made war on all the world." Long before the white man had made these New York lands his own, before he had built his highways, his towns and cities, or had planted here a population of eight millions of souls, this dusky, warrior race had marked out this territory as a land of empire. And it was federation begun there near Albany, more than all else, that enabled them to make it so.

A people with this proud record to their account deserve wide popular remembrance. To us as Americans, why should not the imperial fabric reared by this savage race claim attention along

with the empires of the older lands of the other hemisphere,—this empire, not of the mind, like Greece, of law and gold, like Rome, but one purely of the sword, of the bow and arrow and the tomahawk? The Empire of Alexander charms the imagination of childhood. The story of the Empire of Rome has become a schoolboy's tale. The imperial sway which had its center in the Nile Valley—at Memphis, at Thebes or at Cairo—we are taught to know in the Sunday school. And so of that far older civilization, the oldest on the earth, which had its seat in the valley of the Euphrates—the martial glory and civic splendor of Babylon, the armed prowess and sculptural art of Assyria—these we study with minute and laborous care.

For this empire of the Iroquois we can claim no such antiquity. Compared with Babylon or Egypt, compared even with Rome, it is an empire of yesterday. Nor did the Iroquois in any way rival, or even suggest, those older peoples in numbers. They were always a small people—a mere handful. Nor did they make contributions to the world's civilization. Man's intellectual life gained naught from them. They left no monuments of art; they produced no literature. When their empire passed away, all things passed away. They had found no voice—no voice that could speak their life and thought into the minds of us, men of alien races, men possessed of this opulent heritage of learning, of culture, of law that has come down through the long centuries of England, of Rome, of Greece, of Palestine.

While that Empire flourished in its greatest splendor, the white man came to New York—came on the one hand from the north, to those inland waters called the Lake of the Iroquois, but which were to take the name of him who led the expedition—Champlain; came on the other from the south, to that river of destiny which also was to bear the name of him who led the invasion,—Henry Hudson; and in the same year, the year 1609, these two explorers, representing opposing forces in European civilization, entered these lands of the Iroquois; the one reaching a spot just south of Crown Point, the other sailing up the Hudson as far as Albany, but each ignorant of the other's presence, and yet only one hundred miles apart,—

altogether one of the most suggestive coincidences in the history of the world.

It was the misfortune of Champlain, and of the land he had come from, that he bore in his hand, not the olive branch of trade, but the sword. He made war on the Iroquois and there between Crown Point and Ticonderoga engaged them in battle—the first conflict this was in a long series of engagements which, for the ensuing century and three-quarters, filled the Hudson and Champlain Valleys with deeds at arms that have become stirring and potent memories.

At the mouth of Norman's Kill eight years afterwards, the Dutch secured a treaty from the Indians who were all the more ready to embrace the alliance, since the iron of Champlain's attack had so deeply entered their souls. Thenceforth they remained for a period practically unbroken the allies, first of the Dutch, and then of the English, against the French.

When Cornelius May in 1623 arrived in New York as the first Dutch Governor, a French ship already lay anchored in the harbor. Plans had been made to set up on Manhattan Island the arms of France. Here therefore, within that splendid panorama on which then looked down, as now look down, the Palisades, was seen the first incident suggesting that armed conflict between European nations, around which the political fate of the new world for the next century and a quarter was to revolve.

Along the shores of Lake Champlain the French built strongholds from which to descend upon the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys. Late in the century came Frontenac to Crown Point, with orders to drive the English out of New York and "unite Canada with Louisiana." Descending into the Mohawk Valley, he laid waste all that came in his way, burning Schenectady in mid-winter and murdering its people. For the next half century the New York frontier was repeatedly subjected to invasion. Few men realized that the fate of a continent was bound up in these conflicts on the borders—conflicts soon to enter the phase of a master struggle.

The decisive war began in a very small way. On the Southern

borders of Pennsylvania in 1754, George Washington, at Great Meadows, encountered a French force under Jumonville. Shots were fired and Jumonville fell—a mere accident of war in a frontier forest, but, as Parkman says, “it set the world on fire”—not alone the new world but the old as well.

Braddock went out against Fort Duquesne, there to die and there to lose one-half his army, and Sir William Johnson started for Crown Point, whence came down the French. At Lake George ensued the battle—an English victory, although Crown Point could not be taken. Next year the French captured Oswego and the year afterwards, Montcalm, having taken Ft. William Henry, spread terror and death along the Mohawk.

Following these disasters came English victories. Bradstreet captured Ft. Frontenac; Forbes recovered Ft. Duquesne; Lord Howe defeated the French near Ticonderoga, and then under Sir William Johnson’s attack, Niagara fell. The conflict now became central—in the Champlain Valley, where Abercrombie marching on Ticonderoga, had been routed, and finally, at Quebec, the decisive hour arrived. When this last blow was about to fall, Amherst lay at Crown Point, wanted in the north to aid Wolfe, but held in check by the French. Wolfe losing all hope of help, pressed on alone, and crossed the St. Lawrence, to meet on the Plain of Abraham in the same hour, victory and death—crossed while listening to Gray’s immortal “Elegy” with its prophetic line:

“The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

On New York had fallen the chief burdens of this war. Her frontier lay in ruins; her debt was mountainous and thousands of her people were dead. Such were the sacrifices she had made to a world-great cause, the cause of Anglo-Saxon civilization in North America. Need I remind you what that victory has meant for your land and mine? Need I say that in place of Roman law it has given us all that we owe to Magna Charta, to the Bill of Rights, and to trial by jury; that instead of an inquisition we have had religious liberty; instead of centralization of power and tyranny in office, the town meeting; instead of an ignorant populace such as darkens every hamlet in Spain, the little red schoolhouse; instead

of a Louis XV, a Thomas Jefferson; instead of a Duke of Alva, that finest type of an American citizen, that man born in a cabin scarcely better than the cabin of an Iroquois Indian, and yet who rose to be the second savior of his country,—Abraham Lincoln?

In the war which was now to follow—the war for independence—the contributions from New York were to be greater still. The Hudson and Champlain valleys as before were to form the center of the scene. At the mouth of the Hudson indeed the war, in the sense of actual fighting, first began—in that battle of Golden Hill, fought in John Street, New York, in 1770, where was shed the first blood of the revolution.

After Golden Hill, armed conflicts took place near Boston, but these engagements were scarcely more than preliminary events in the greater war which followed. So soon as this rebellion was found to be no longer local, so soon as thirteen colonies instead of one were seen to be in revolt, the scene shifted to New York, where in these valleys lay the prizes to be fought for.

Here the British well might hope for success. The Tory party, in that City, was in control. New York was the administrative center of the British power in America. It had long been the center of a small court, modelled after the Court of London. Society and public life had derived their tone from a royal example. New York harbor, indeed, commanded the Hudson Valley, and nearly forty British ships of war had sailed into it. The Americans meanwhile had no ships of war.

First among Americans who saw the importance of holding these valleys was a man whose name was repeatedly to be covered with martial glory, but a name that is remembered now almost wholly for an act of infamy,—Benedict Arnold. Immediately after the fight at Lexington, Arnold started with an army for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Ethan Allen met him on the way and together they pressed on to demand surrender in famous words,—“In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.” Crown Point was next taken and then St. John.

Late in the following summer another army set out along the

upper Hudson, and Benedict Arnold traversed the forests of New England, bound also for Canada, meeting on arrival Gen. Montgomery, who had forced his way from New York territory, to Montreal. The two men pressed on to Quebec, on whose heights eighteen years before Wolfe had gained his imperishable renown. In scaling these heights Arnold was wounded and Montgomery killed—that soldier of New York who died all too soon for his country, and who lies buried beneath the portico of St. Paul's church, with the roar of Broadway above him chanting his eternal requiem.

Around these valleys for the remainder of the war this contest was mainly fought—whether we regard the battle of Long Island or Harlem Heights, Oriskany or Bennington, Saratoga or Stony Point, Princeton or Trenton. Indeed the Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth were fought for the Hudson Valley—fought to keep the British from ascending the river to reenforce Burgoyne. Last of all came the treason of Benedict Arnold at West Point—Benedict Arnold, who not only had won the chief laurels at Saratoga, but all through the summer of 1776 had been busy on the shores of Lake Champlain building an American fleet of war boats—the first navy of this country. A desperate naval fight he waged there, in waters where thirty-eight years afterwards another British fleet was to be destroyed by MacDonough.

After the first attack by the British on the Hudson Valley, they could boast only that they still retained New York Island and that Carleton kept his place on Lake Champlain. From Ticonderoga all the way down the Hudson this territory remained in American hands. But now ensued the second campaign for its capture and the most desperate of all—destined, however, like the other, to an inglorious defeat—one which ended in surrender—the surrender of Burgoyne. Arnold, by a brave dash in the decisive moment at Saratoga, had swept down and cleared the field, and yet in that monument which commemorates the surrender no statue of him is seen. Only a vacant niche is found there—pathetic witness alike of Arnold's glory and his infamy.

Great with meaning was Burgoyne's overthrow. Not only

had England lost an army, but America had gained the confidence of Europe, and the practical assistance of a great power. From this event we must reckon the loan we got from France, the soldiers she sent us, and chief among them all Lafayette. France had found that an American alliance was well worth having. She had just lost to England an empire in the East; she still hoped to recover it, and hence was glad to aid this new and rising power in the West in its conflict with her own enemy.

A new kind of warfare now arose in New York—a warfare of arson, massacre and ambush fighting, of which Indians were masters, and in which they had constant aid from Tories. Those border conflicts were essential parts of the struggle for the Hudson Valley. They had been directly inspired from London and were actively directed by the British in New York and Canada. It was believed that forces might thus be drawn away from the Hudson Valley and that men, pouring down from Canada by way of Oswego and the Mohawk, by way of Niagara and the Susquehanna, might force their way to the Hudson valley. Indeed, at one time these conflicts had gone so far that Gov. Clinton expressed grave fears lest the Hudson should become the frontier of the state.

From the battle of Oriskany in 1777 until peace returned, these border lands became lands of terror. They were finally reduced to lands of complete desolation. Here were more than 12,000 farms that had ceased to be cultivated. More than two-thirds of the population had died or fled, and among those who remained were 300 widows and 2,000 orphans. It is a record of battles in the open, battles in ambush, massacre and child murder, in the midst of which perhaps the great gleam of light that came from the conflict outside was the capture of Stony Point by Anthony Wayne—"Mad Anthony Wayne," mad only in courage and patriotic zeal.

One year of the war remained when all the fruits of it came near being lost in Arnold's treason. It is matter for much marvel that so ignoble an act, an act which in its success would have completely undone all that Arnold had fought six years to gain, was possible to so brave and patriotic a soldier. Arnold was a man of

impulses, generous and improvident, daring and adventurous; one of those mercurial natures which in great crises often seem endowed with the highest kind of manhood. Adversity, combined with temptation and false ambition, more often give us the true measure of natures like his. He had all the personal bravery of Washington and Greene, of Putnam and Wayne. What he lacked in woeful degree was that supreme endowment of the friend he wronged—that final test of all human excellence—character. Success for Arnold would have put the end of the war far longer off. Control of the Hudson must have passed to British hands and no man can say how the conflict could have been won. Last of these scenes on the Hudson came that meeting in the Livingston house at Dobbs Ferry, where Washington and Rochambeau planned the campaign of Yorktown which ended the war.

The way lay open now for the formation of a new nation on this continent which should take up that federal idea, first inspired into life on Norman's Kill. But out of history were to pass the Iroquois—out of history was to pass their league. In the more than a hundred years that have since elapsed, although they still remain as numerous as they ever were, they have made no history on this continent. A vast territory has been peopled with more than 80,000,000 of men. Stores of wealth, unknown to former times, have been wrested from the soil, and from treasure chambers beneath the soil; but the Iroquois have silently lived on—stolid, unimpassioned, unimpressed witnesses of these stupendous deeds done by a conquering race of pale faces from across the sea. That Oneida warrior chieftan who was called Honeyost knew not the melancholy fate in store for his own people when he said at the close of the war—said in words whose eloquence surpasses the eloquence of many white men—"The Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind and it was still."

Thus had these valleys been saved; thus had New York held fast to her allegiance—patriotic, imperial New York; and thus was prepared the way for that empire of the white man, supplanting the empire of the Iroquois, in which New York has formed the

most glorious part. Out of these wars, so largely fought for the Hudson and Champlain Valleys, and out of the town meeting and the little red schoolhouse, has been raised up this newer empire,—this empire of democracy,—where exists the happiest condition of man the earth anywhere has known—something far better than

“The glory that was Greece,
The grandeur that was Rome.”

RELATIONS OF THE DUTCH AND THE INDIANS PRIOR TO THE MASSACRE OF 1655.

By T. ASTLEY ATKINS.

My brief paper, which I offer you this evening, is practically a mass of quotations, not an opinion of the writer, whose own mind has been entirely changed by the cumulative mass of the evidence, literally hurled against his previously conceived notions. An aged scholar, a tutor of my earlier days, used to tell us that history was "a pack of lies." The History laid before you to-night is chiefly taken from Official records. The list drawn upon would fill a page. You shall judge of its veracity.

Carlyle is quoted as saying: "Those Dutch are a strong people. They raised their land out of a marsh, and went on for a long period of time breeding cows and making cheese, and might have gone on with their cows and cheese till doomsday. But Spain comes over and says, 'We want you to believe in Saint Ignatius.' 'Very sorry', replied the Dutch, 'but we cannot; 'God! but you must, says Spain,' and they went about with guns and swords to make the Dutch believe in Saint Ignatius. Never made them believe in him, but did succeed in breaking their own vertebral column forever and raising the Dutch into a great nation."

The "Journal of the New-Netherlands" records that, "The Indians (of the Hudson) are of ordinary stature, strong and broad shouldered, olive color, light and nimble of foot, subtle in disposition, of few words, which they previously well consider; hypocritical, treacherous, vindictive, brave and obstinate in self defence; in time of need right resolute to die."

Ruttenber, in his book concerning the Hudson River Indians says, that, on October 4," 1906, Henry Hudson first met the Indians at the Narrows. They came on board his vessel. Hudson wrote, "arms they had none" but that he, "durst not trust them."

He however exchanged compliments with them to such an extent that an "Exploring boat's" crew lost one sailor; in exchange for a dead Indian. The Indian died first. Ruttenber says that, "the cause of this primary dispute was not stated but may be inferred." Personal belongings were no doubt as sacred to the savage as to the civilized man. They had not yet lost their soil. He further says that,

"The whites came from time to time and asked for more until the Indians came to believe that they would soon want the whole country:"

"Great faults, he says, were charged against the Indians, and great faults they doubtless possessed, when judged from the standpoint of a different civilization. Were the line strictly drawn, however, it might be shown that, as a whole, they compared favorably with nations upon whom light had fallen for sixteen hundred years."

Smith, in his "History of New York," says, "When the Dutch began settlements upon the banks of the Hudson the country adjacent was in subjection to the 'Five Nations'." North of the Manhattoes of the Island there were upon the mainland the Indian villages of Saeck Hill, Wickquaeskeek, Alipkonk, Sintsinck and Kitchanong, and we find that in their dealings with these children of the forest the Dutch were exceedingly able and urgent. Our inoffensive Dutchmen when few in numbers and weak in arms were good, or fairly just to their dusky neighbors and dwelt for years in peace with them, but when numbers increased, and fresh pastures were needed, and the Dutchman felt strong, then trouble began. Governor Peter Stuyvesant is quoted as saying. "that the Dutch were clearly at fault."

It is further recorded that, "From the first hour of Hudson's appearance in the waters of the Ma-hi-can-i-tuck, to the last days of the domination of Holland, there was antagonism between the Dutch and the Indians with whom they came in contact in the vicinity of Manhattan Island, and a conflict which was apparently irrepressible."

The greed for land, which was not their own, was really at

the bottom of most of the quarrels between the Dutch and the natives. Knowing that public sentiment at home would not be in their favor if they stole outright the farms, hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians, the Dutchmen of the Island and mainland devised a scheme of legal robbery which worked just as well in the long run, and, at the same time, placated critics and their High Mightinesses at home. Instances of this legal-robbery will be dwelt upon later.

Ruttenber says, and Irving, in his "Knickerbocker," has used humorously the same incident, that "From daily increasing familiarity between the Indians and the whites the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover. To this the Indians agreed, whereupon the whites took a knife and cut the hide into rope-like strips, this rope was drawn out to a great distance and then brought round again so that the ends might meet. It encompassed a large piece of land. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but would not quarrel." Truth compels us to chronicle, that the author does not locate the hide-covered farm. Mayhap the English invented the story in relating instances of Dutch wit and greed.

The close of the sixteenth century, and the early days of the seventeenth century, found our neighborhood wrapped in the peaceful slumber of aboriginal possession. The placid water of the Hudson and the Sound had been free to the owner of the shore. The Indians of the Island and Mainland held happy and undisputed possession of forest and meadow; of babbling brook and swift flowing tide waters.

The dusky inhabitants, "were men of good proportions, of middle statue, broad across the breast, strong in arms and well formed. They were dressed with feathers of birds of various colors. A chief had a deer skin about his body, wrought in colors; his hair was tied back. A young buck found delight in a band around his hair and a chain ornamented with stones of different colors." Of the women the same historian said, "They were of like form and beauty, very graceful and pleasing in manners and

modesty. They wore no clothing except a deer skin and some had very rich lynx skins upon their arms.

A cursory glance at the manner of life among these Hudson River Indians, at the coming of the Dutch adventurers, may not be amiss. They did not live upon the results of the hunt alone. They cultivated small patches of land, and besides corn, raised melons, squashes, tobacco and beans. The same writer says that, "they had for food also badgers, dogs, fish, snakes and frogs. They made pap, which they called Sapsis. Not being particularly regular at meals they eat whenever hunger demanded it."

Woman's rights at that date consisted chiefly in the privilege of cultivating the meadows, making mats and preparing the family meals.

Ruttenber, in his invaluable book upon the North River Indians, says that our local Indians were, in times of war, under rigid martial law, and that to begin a war was called by them "taking up the hatchet," but this could only be declared "for most just and important reasons." First there would be an address as follows: "The bones of your murdered countrymen lie uncovered, they demand revenge at our hands, and it is our duty to obey them; their spirits loudly call upon us and we must satisfy them. Still greater spirits watching over our honor inspire us with a resolution to go in pursuit of the murderers of our brethern. Let us go and devour them. Do not sit inactive. Follow the impulse of your hereditary valor. Anoint your hair. Paint your faces. Fill your quivers. Make the woods echo with your voices. Comfort the spirits of the deceased and revenge their blood." After this address weapons of war were collected, pouches of parched corn and maple sugar were prepared and the warriors painted their bodies. Then followed the war dance and war song:

"O poor me

"Who am going out to fight the enemy,

"And know not whether I shall return again

"To enjoy the embraces of my children

"And my wife.

"O poor creature!

"Whose life is not in his own hands

* * * * *

“Suffer me to return again to my children,

“To my wife

“And to my relations.

“Take pity on me and preserve my life

“And I will make thee a sacrifice.”

Let us return, however, to Henry Hudson.

When off the land then known as Sho-rack-ap-pock, but later as the lower end of the Yonkers plantation, several Indians went on board the Half-Moon. Two of them were forcibly detained, but managed to escape and swim ashore.

Up the river the Indians brought gifts of corn and vegetables, and, to prove their friendship, broke their bows and arrows and cast them into the fire. A simple minded native at Stony Point helped himself to a pillow and two shirts. Caught red-handed this terrible thief, this dusky malefactor was promptly murdered by the mate. At Shorackappock, on Hudson's return, the simple hearted natives had prepared a reception for the mariner who had treacherously imprisoned two of his guests. Some little trouble ensued and a few more natives passed suddenly on to the “happy hunting ground.” Hudson reported naively upon the clash of customs, &c. &c.

But from their dream of trusting love for the mysterious white man the Indians had a sad and speedy awakening as we shall note presently.

The Dutch named the Shorackappock promontory the Spyt, or point of the devils—otherwise Spuyten Duyvil. In many recitals the Indians are called “devils” by the Dutch and English settlers.

Permit me here to digress and give you a short essay upon the corruption of names:

No man could exceed Governor Bellomont in saying unpleasant things concerning our Dutch ancestry. There seemed to be something about our beautiful river which always disturbed him, and impelled him to say uncomfortable things when it, or the people or places on it banks, were mentioned or were suggested to him. It was he, you will remember, who foolishly predicted that the greater

portion of our country would remain a wilderness for all time. But he lost his temper entirely when he contemplated the phlegmatic Dutchmen who, with staying powers which were eminently distasteful to him, paid little heed to his growls. Unable to move the contented and happy settler whom he found in Manhattan and on the mainland, he exclaims in great disgust in one of his State papers that "Van Kip, Van Dam and Van Courtland; the names speak Dutch and the men scarce speak English."

The Bellomonts have gone. The Van Dams and Van Courtlands have remained with us. But to tell the honest truth, the Dutch names have puzzled many another besides the irascible Earl. Many before and about his time, but many more later. Indeed, to this day, it quite "beats the Dutch" to make out where the Dutch ends and the English commences. It is curious to read and to observe how a Dutchman of two hundred and fifty years ago mouthed and murdered the Indian names of our beloved neighborhood. Stranger yet the exhibition when the Dutch Indian name was passed on to be Anglicized. The Indian names died a hard and terrible death. The Dutch names utterly refuse to die at all. So under the circumstances the Englishmen have made the best use they could of their legacy. If the gentle reader will go with us to the middle and latter part of the seventeenth century, we will explore together some of the oddities bequeathed to us. It will require patience; but patience is said to be a virtue. We have among us Dutch blood enough to be both patient and virtuous. Let us then proceed.

Mrs. Lamb, in her invaluable work, says very truly that "one of the curiosities of historical research in New York is the confusion of orthography in the matter of proper names. There was no standard orthography of Dutch names. Dutch names became Anglicized in part. Take Gerritzen Van Schaick." (We will incidentally remark that Herr Gozen Gerritsen Van Schaick was a well known burgher who resided in Albany somewhere about the year 1650) "In some old documents his name is wirtten Gosen Van Schaick. In some also Goose Van Schaick, and in many Gerrit's Goose." To Mrs. Lamb's list we may add that he was called Gossen, Goes

and Goose Gersz Van Schaick. We are led to wonder if he knew his own name.

A contemporary chronicler states that in one year, about this time, there happened along the Hudson an earthquake, a freshet and the small pox, which may partly explain away a part at least of the above mentioned confusion.

Mr. Munsell exclaims, as if in despair, that "The orthography of (Dutch) proper names sets all rules at defiance." As to the names of places that confusion is no less than of the people. Averstro and Haverstraw refer to one and the same place. The strictly Dutch name of Gravenzende, after the town on the Maas, becomes, first Gravesand, and later Gravesend, and is finally, but falsely as we now know, claimed to be namesake of the English town of that name.

An amusing instance of change of name is given of a young Irishman who arrived in Catskill under the name of John Anderson, a lutsy farmhand, who changed not his name or his manner of living upon moving to this country. Soon after his arrival he became known among his neighbors as Jan Andriessen, then as Jante and Jantien. A few years later, having bought himself a farm, and having become a man of considerable importance among the Dutch neighbors, he appears in the record as Jan Andriessen Van Dublin. The latter title stuck to him until his death. Perhaps he often stroked himself, and asked who he originally was, a Dublin boy or a veritable Dutchman?

It is not, then, cause for much surprise to find that our forefathers wrote in their letters and public records that they were of or from "Nuyurrick; or that one Zacharias, who lived in their midst, was written down as "Sacharvjas." The English returned the compliment in full when they attempted to mouth the, to them, almost unpronounceable Dutch names of persons and places. Thus Kreupel-bosh became "Cripple-bush," and Beeren Island or Bear's Island, "Barren Island."

To come nearer home, can any one now tell by what process the Greenburgh stream of the Wecquaskecks became the "Wickerscreek" of Governor Andros' patent? Or and now we pray, good

critics, do not all criticize at once, can any one surmise by what changes our Tuchahoe of today, the "Turkey-hoe" of a century ago, was derived from, and became a corruption of, the name of Tackereu, the Indian possessor of a tract which more than covered that well known hamlet, and who is reported to have with his tribe, dwelt upon the slopes of the Nepperhan?

When Sachem Tackareu, as the Dutchmen called him, occupied our place that was, say, at least two hundred and fifty years ago the region "lying over against the flats of the Island of Manhates" was called "Kekesick." But at that time very little was known about the region or its inhabitants.

When a Dutchman asked the Indians the name of their nation, they answered, according to one authority, "Mahican," according to another, "Muhhekaneew." So the Dutchmen called them Mahicanders. Then the English called them Mohegans, and the French the Mourigans or Manhingens.

The most wonderful and least to be explained transformations seems to have taken place within fifty years after settlement. That was of the Indian name of Yonkers village, from Nappeckamack to Nepperhan. The intermediate stages are entirely missing, and can only be guessed at. But no sooner had the Dutch fastened the latter name upon the place than the corruption of it in turn began. It was for one man Neperha, and for another Nippiorha. To some it was Neppiran, to others Nepran and Nepperan, and Governor Dougan, combining several of these in one, calls it Nippirhan. In one conveyance we find the present spelling, Nepperhan, or "Napoeskamack." Or at least so it is recorded in Mrs. "Geesie" Lewis' deed to old Mr. "Phillipps" in the now somewhat remote year of 1686. Verily, there was a great variety of spelling in those days.

If we may be permitted to look outside our own narrow bounds again for a moment, we will find that curious spelling does not end with our place. When a Dutchman tried his hand in our records, upon the name of a sister colony, he succeeded about as follows: Caniddecott, Conetycutt, Connecticut; and knew nothing to the contrary. He had no critics. In our neighborhood he found

"froges neck" and "Froggs Neck," as best suited his ideas of spelling. He wrote "Spikinfdvevell" when he became a little more English, and stuck not at "momarionack" or "Brunskis" River. It seems as if at that time neither man nor place had a fixed and certain name. Indian, Dutch and English gloriously mixed.

We come now by natural sequence to the acquisition of the Indian land of the Dutch. It must be borne in mind that the latter wrote the history of their times and their transactions. The passing Indian left no notes. Now the Dutch story of the settlement is told in two ways. One part by their historians or chroniclers, the other by the official records they left behind them and to which we have easy access now.

There were many things which King Solomon, despite his wisdom, confessed he could not understand. Had he lived in New Amsterdam, during the first half of the seventeenth century, he would have increased the list by one, "the way of the Dutch with the Indian."

The charter of Peter Minuit's Company required him and his followers, "to advance the peopling of these fruitful and unsettled parts." We find him in contact with about as large a population as could be kept alive upon the land they occupied. To the Indian the country was settled, to the Dutch unsettled. A Dutch historian said that, "the Dutch settlers made no record for cruelty and tyranny—they purchased what they wanted"—let us see just how.

Minuit, it is said, purchased Manhattan Island for twenty-four guilders. Certain it is he took what he could occupy, but the Indian remained to plague and vex him and his successors. "Purchased," is the word, note hereafter the consideration.

We come now to the official records of these co-called "purchases" from the Indian: It is not our purpose to impose upon you the dry and dull tale of official documents, but to present to you the methods whereby the Dutch supplanted the olive-colored native. Reviewing these records one is strongly reminded of the song of Captain Robert Kidd, who is made to remark, "I had a

bible in my hand, when I sailed, when I sailed." "I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed."

"Until touched and warped by wrong treatment, wherever the Indians were met, they were liberal and generous in their intercourse with the whites," says Ruttenber, "and, more sinned against than sinning, they left behind them evidences of great wrongs suffered. Their enemies being their witnesses." Under pretence of purchase the Dutch robbed the natives of their land. They held the Bible in their hands truly, but the rights of the Indian were slaughtered.

The Dutch sold the Indians intoxicating liquors, and it was a common sight that, of Indians running through the streets of New Amsterdam, hopelessly drunk. While in this state and even while sober they were robbed of their earnings, and their furs and even of the very goods which they had bought from the Dutch. They believed and asserted that the Dutch had not paid them a sufficient price for their land. Let us look at the land and the price.

So great had this scandal become that the authorities took cognizance thereof and in the "Ordinances of New Amsterdam" we find this preamble and ordinance; "Great complaints are *daily* made to the Director General and Council by the Indians or natives, that some of the inhabitants of New Netherlands set the natives to work and use them in their service, but let them go unrewarded after the work is done and refuse, contrary to all international law, to pay the savages for their labors. These Indians threaten, that if they are not satisfied and paid, they will make themselves paid or recover their remunerations by other improper means. Therefore, to prevent all trouble as much as possible, The Director and Council warn all inhabitants who owe anything to an Indian for wages or otherwise, to pay it without dispute and if in the future they employ savages, they shall be held liable to pay upon the evidence and complaint of the Indians (who for good reason shall be considered credible witnesses in such cases), under penalty of such a fine, as the circumstances shall indicate as proper."

In the early days of the Dutch settlement the Dutch Company bought of nine Indians, alleged to be the owners, a vast tract of land North of Harlem: somewhat later Van der Donck bought from a Jersey Sachem a large piece of the Country between that and the Nepperhan. Always found a convenient savage to make his mark to the ponderous deed. One John Onderland spoke right out in public and said, concerning sales of land, as follows; "But a great portion of the lands which we occupy being as yet unpaid for, the Indians come daily and complain that they have been deceived." "It is impossible to tell from the records what was paid for as the Indian always acknowledges payment, or nearly always, and at the same time agreed to warrant and defend the title. Think of the noble red man warranting a Dutchman's title.

Ruttenber is our authority for the general statement, but the following shows the method.

Certain Dutch settlers had cast longing eyes upon the fair possessions of the Waeckquaeskecks whose lands, in actual settlement, by them, stretched from the Hudson, near Tappen See, to the Long Island Sound. They undertook to bargain with one Ponus and certain other Indians, for that little tract of land which, now a days, covers Pound Ridge, part of Bedford and New Canaan, in Westchester County and Greenwich, Stanford and Darien in Connecticut. The consideration for this little farm was 12 glasses, 12 knives, 12 coats, 12 hoes, 4 kettles and 4 fathoms of wampum. A foot note says that only the glasses, knives and 6 of the coats had been actually handed over. The gentle savage must trust the Dutchman for the remainder of this magnificent consideration. Some fifteen years later we find the following suggestive memorandum in the records. "Our agreement made with Ponus." Although there was an agreement made before with the said Indians and Captain Turner, and the purchases paid for, yet, the things not being clear, we come to another agreement with them; said Ponus and others having received this day four coats, acknowledging themselves fully satisfied." Shortly after this the friends and neighbors of Mr. Ponus, probably assisted by the aforesaid grantors, or their children, wiped the offending settlers off the face of the earth.

Gov. Stuyvesant bought from certain Indian gentlemen of leisure possessed of unpronounceable names, quite a neat little farm between the North or Hudson River and the East River or Long Island Sound, lying many miles to the North of the Island. For this Indian Country gentlemen's farm a few kettles, tools, knives, a couple of cloth coats, some belts, two pounds of lead and a like quantity of gunpowder, with a little cloth and wampum thrown in, sufficed as a consideration.

In another document a declaration that seven lords of the forest have sold property to one Arent Corson, for some goods, "which were not fully paid us, but, as we are now fully satisfied therein we do fully convey" &c. the aforesaid lands.

Another one of these documents, whereby a vast portion of the Country was proposed to be conveyed, recites that, "this is all done without any guile or deceit." It is curious to mark how the same Indian farmers turn up in different "conveyances," each time with a different "mark," for none of them read or wrote. Notably the alleged Sachems Sinquaes and Amattehooen. There is little doubt, however, that both parties understood the little game: the reds who scarce owned their own corn fields and the whites who knew that these deeds were but covers to hide their shame.

We come now to the third and last of our relations, namely the penalty or revenge.

We first considered the bearing of the Indians toward the new comers and found them in every instance inclined to welcome the invaders with open arms, looking upon them as a superior race of mortals. We further saw that they were willing to share, without price, such portions of land as the new comers needed for their immediate use, or had possessed themselves of without even saying, "by your leave."

Our next view has been, when the wily Dutchmen saw the rest of the land and beheld that it was good, they, in place of the "push" of early days, and to pacify home critics, set up and carried out a scheme of alleged purchases as would presumably relieve them from odium and, possibly, placate the innocent and

ignorant natives. These "purchases" we have seen literally covered the whole reachable country. The natives were crowded back and out.

It needs but a casual glance at the ponderous Documents in Dutch, and the ridiculous considerations set forth in these papers, to convince the most prejudiced reader, or a careful student that the whole thing was a fraud both upon the Indians and the people at home. And what made it worse was that, in many cases, even these paltry items of old coats and kettles were not forthcoming.

The situation may be briefly summed up as follows: The Indians as owners, had already been crowded off Manhattan Island, but they dwelt in considerable numbers thereon by permission of the Dutch. A like state of things was existent upon Long Island. Upon the main land north of the Harlem they still lived in many an ancestral nook and in many an out-of-the-way corner. Cowed, crowded, watchful, many inclined to great friendliness, others full of wrath and determination to repossess their fair fields and fisheries.

Along the Hudson, and stretching across the land far away on either side of it, were other Indian settlements, usually peacefully inclined so far as the Dutch settlers were concerned, but at strife often with other dusky tribes.

Upon Manhattan Island, and presumably upon the Van der Donck plantation to the north of it, the Indians had been accustomed to free access to streets and farms and in some instances to the houses. No doubt they thought that if the white settler could enter upon their close and take home their rabbit or their fish, they, too, had equal right to poach upon his domain. We shall see.

It is a proverb that the worm will turn, and so it happened upon the Hudson. The sequel is one of the saddest chapters in the history of the settlement of America.

Winsor, in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," says; "The Indians were given firearms by the Dutch, that they might furnish a larger supply of peltries, and, when thus put on the same footing with the whites, Governor Kieft committed the

folly of exacting from them a tribute, as a return for aiding them. The war resulting from this policy lasted until the year 1645, two years prior to Stuyvesant's appearance. When Stuyvesant came he declared that, "a fourth part of the City consists of rum shops and houses where nothing could be had but beer and tobacco." He failed to placate the River Indians, however, many of whom refused to become firm friends of the Dutch settlers.

O'Callaghan, in the "Journal of New Netherlands," says that, the "intercourse with the Dutch had brought forth contempt. To this familiarity and freedom succeeded another evil, namely, as the Dutch cattle usually roamed through the woods without a herdsman, they frequently came into the corn of the Indians which was unfenced on all sides, committing great damage there: this led to frequent complaints on their part and finally to revenge on the cattle. They insulted the Dutch by telling them that they might be "something on water, but of no account on land."

"A Waquaeskeek Indian, living to the northeast of the Island of the Mannhattans, perpetrated another murderous deed in the house of Cornelis Swits, a wheelwright. This outrage obliged the Director to demand satisfaction which the Sachem (who lived out upon the Stamford lands) refused, saying, that he was sorry that twenty Christians had not been murdered and that the Indian had only avenged the death of his uncle, who had been slain many years before by the Dutch."

Out at Hackingsack, otherwise called Achter-Col, the Indians killed an Englishman and a Dutchman, "who settled there against the advice of the Director and will of the Indians, and, by continual damage which their cattle committed, caused no little dissatisfaction to the Indians and contributed greatly to the war." The Indians, using their only available writ of dispossessionment, of course provoked the Dutch to a frightful retaliation.

Ruttenber says, "Granting that the offences recited had been committed, they only prove that they were in retaliation for the outrage inflicted on the Indians. The Indians were not wanton murderers." And the Indians constantly replied to Dutch charges that they had been severely provoked by their Dutch neighbors.

“The *Christians*, residing on Long Island, asked permission to slay the Indians there, but permission was refused, as they had done no harm and showed us every friendship.

Notwithstanding this refusal to slaughter their friends, “some *Christians* attempted secretly, with two wagons, to steal maize from these Indians, which, they perceiving, endeavored to prevent; thereupon three Indians were shot dead.”

Captain Jochem Pietersen came to Staten Island, marched the whole night led by Councillor La Montague. The Indian houses were found abandoned and the Captain got five or six hundred skepels of corn, burning the remainder.” Lucky redskins they to get off alive before the *Christians* arrived.

A Greenwich Sachem “attacked with bow and arrows three Chirstians armed with guns.” One Christian and one Indian dead,” the other Christians cut off the head of the dead Indian and brought it into the settlement.” The chronieler remarked that, “it was then known, for the first time, that he and his Indians had done us much injury.” The chronieler then details that, “understanding that they (the Waeckquaesckeeks) lay in their houses very quiet and without suspicion it was determined to hunt them up and attack them. The command, or a part of it, went to the nearest village near Greenwich. (It will be remembered that the possessions of this powerful tribe stretched from Tappan See on the Hudson easterly to Stamford on the Sound). “Arriving at the village eighteen or twenty Indians were killed, an old man, two women and some children were taken prisoners. A further raid into the interior resulted in several other dead Indians and the capture of non-combatants and corn burning.

In the subsequent raid by the Dutch, at Greenwich, Captain Van der Hil one moonlight night, surprised a tribe in the hill county and valorously killed one hundred and eighty Indians on the outside of their houses. Then the soldiers set fire to the Indian houses and burned the rest of the tribe within their homes. The Dutch Historian says, “What was the most wonderful is that, among this vast collection of women and children, not one was heard to cry or scream.” Some five to seven hundred Indians perished

there. The Historian continues, "Our God having collected together there the greater number of our enemies, only eight Indians escaped." "The next day our hosts returned, God affording extraordinary strength to the wounded." Thereupon a Thanksgiving day was proclaimed."

Another contingent marched towards Heemstede. In this raid about one hundred and twenty Indians were killed and "of ours one man remained on the field and three were wounded." At another time at Heemstede "seven savages were '*arrested*.' The soldiers killed three of the seven on the spot. They took four Indians with them in a boat: two of them were towed along by a string round their necks until they died. Two were dragged later out of the guard house by the soldiers and were despatched with long knives. The soldiers cut strips from one's body and, while still alive, frightfully mutilated his body and finally, while still living, cut his head off."

Three pigs were stolen from a Staten Island plantation—as it subsequently appeared by servants of the Dutch Company passing the Island in a boat.—Director Kieft professed to believe that the pigs were stolen by the Indians. One hundred soldiers were sent against the Raritan Indians, whom it was claimed had crossed from the mainland in New Jersey and committed the theft. This the Raritans denied. This satisfied the Secretary of the Colony and he thereupon returned to the City. But the soldiers left behind promptly killed several innocent Raritans; took one Chief a prisoner and mangled the body of another. Of course the Raritans retaliated, attacking the De Vries plantation on the Island they killed four men and burned his dwelling and tobacco house. Kieft now announced "War to extermination" and offered a bounty for the head of every Raritan brought in.

At Pavonia the Dutch took children from the arms of their parents and butchered them in their presence: the mangled bodies of the children were thrown either into the fire or into the waters of the river. Other "sucklings" had been fastened to boards and in this position were cut to pieces. When the parents of those thrown into the river rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented

their landing and let both parents and children drown. Those of the Pavonia Indians who appeared at the fort the next day, seeking shelter, were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the river. De Vries, of Tappan, says "some came running to us from the country having their hands cut off, some lost both arms and legs, some were carrying their entrails, others were horribly mangled."

Xenophon tells us that Agesilaus, after the fearful struggle with the Thebans at Coronea, received the news, when lying wounded that eighty Thebans were cut off from the rest and had taken refuge in a neighboring temple with their arms. He ordered them to be escorted in safety to their camp, for he was wont to exhort his soldiers all times, that prisoners in war were not personal enemies, and should not be treated cruelly.

The "war" lasted five years, and an eminent authority estimates that the Dutchmen killed during that time some sixteen hundred Indians. On the white side of the question it is written that "the Dutch pointed to piles of ashes from burnt houses, barns, barracks and other buildings and the bones of cattle." "Our fields lie fallow and waste, our dwellings and other buildings are burnt, all this through a foolish hankering after war, for it is known to all right-thinking men here that these Indians have lived as lambs among us until a few years ago, injuring no one and affording every assistance to our nation," says one of the most veracious Dutch historians of these times.

Patience with the North River Indians had ceased to be a virtue. They had been plundered, deceived, murdered in cold and in hot blood by the settlers who bought their land for a few yards of wampum and a lot of pots, kettles and rum. So the weary decade of the forties had worn itself out and left a record of which civilization may well be ashamed. The Dutchman bought or stole the land and the Indians starved, died or moved on; the Dutchmen did not allege the necessity of his conversion, but called the Indian a Duyvil and treated him with the same distinguished courtesy that their more refined progeny do at the present day. In those days anything that was black passed for a devil, either on the earth or in the depths of the nether world.

The early days of the fifties were rather quieter than the last of the forties. In the early portion of the year sixteen hundred and fifty-five, contemporary records show conclusively that there were a very considerable number of farmers on the mainland north of the Harlem River, but the sweep of the Indian tempest of that year cleaned out man and beast.

One of the most concise reports of the rising of this year may be found in O' Callaghan's History and it as follows: "A party of savages, Mohegans and others from Esopus, Hacking-saack, Tappan, Stamford and Onkeway, as far east as Connecticut, estimated by some to amount to nineteen hundred in number, from five hundred to eighteen hundred of whom were armed, landed suddenly before daybreak (September 15th) in sixty-four canoes at New Amsterdam, and, whilst the greater part of the inhabitants were still buried in sleep scattered themselves through the streets and burst into several of the houses on pretence of looking for Indians from the north, but in reality to avenge the death of a squaw whom Van Dyck, the late Attorney-General had killed for stealing a few peaches."

They shot Van Dyck in the breast with an arrow, and immediately the little town was wild with excitement and terror. The military being called from the fort, attacked the savages and drove them to their canoes. The Indians sailed across the Hudson to the village of Pavonia and set it on fire, and took as prisoners a large number of women and children.

Upon the mainland there was a panic and all who could fled to Manhattan Island to put themselves under the protection of the soldiers. Property counted for but little in those terrible hours. It is remarked by one writer that "a visitation so dreadful spread consternation abroad. All the country people except Amesspoort, Breucklen and Midwout and the negro hamlets took wing and fled to the Mannhattans." In fact, as far up as Esopus the settlers abandoned their farms.

The prisoners were carried north and held by the Weekquaes-ecks and Highland Indians. These poor women and children must then have been held by the Indians in that region just to the north-

east of the City of Yonkers. We need not here recount the fate which befell many.

It is said that during the three days this storm raged, the Dutch lost one hundred people who were killed or maimed; and that fully one hundred and fifty were carried off into captivity; and that twenty-eight farms and plantations were devastated and three hundred people driven away from their burned and ravaged homes. The damage, as estimated in money, was alleged to be about eighty thousand dollars.

To the north of us the Indians took their revenge almost in kind. At Esopus, in revenge for the slaughter of their people by one Sergeant Stoll, the Indians burned houses, barns and harvest, and killed horses and cattle. "They tied their Dutch captives to stakes around a fire, tore off the nails of victims, bit off their fingers, crushed their fingers between stones, scorched their skin with fire brands, cut pieces of flesh from their bodies, and as they died tossed their bodies into the flames."

"Prowling bands of savages flitted in and out of the woods. The whole country (about the Hudson River) was struck with horror," says another authority. But who shall judge the Indian of that year harshly?

There is little doubt that the Westchester Indians took a very active part in the so-called Massacre of 1655. After the retreat of the Indians to their fastnesses it is recorded that the settlers gradually returned to their "avocations," which meant probably that the farmers returned to what was left of their farms and did the best they could with them, until the English came.

ANNE HUTCHINSON. HER LIFE IN NEW YORK,

A Character Sketch

By MRS. ROBERT McVICKER.

In order to understand the character of Anne Hutchinson and the part she played in the development of New England; and, in order to obtain a dispassionate view of the events which led to her banishment from Massachusetts, and her subsequent life in Rhode Island and New York, it is necessary to take a hasty survey of the scene upon which she entered, when, in company with her husband, she crossed the seas and landed in Boston in 1634.

The little Puritan Colony she found there had braved the storms and dangers of an unknown coast to found a state wherein its members could worship God in their own way without let or hindrance. Their sturdy independence of thought and action was not a thing of recent growth. According to John Fiske, it was the development of the Teutonic idea of political life, overthrowing and supplanting the Roman idea. This Teutonic idea, which carried with it freedom of thought in religion and representative government in politics, had been germinating for many years in the minds of the English people; Wickliffe had been spokesman for them three centuries before. "The spirit of Puritanism was no creation of the 16th. century, but is as old as the truth and manliness of England," says Fiske. The revolt against the authority of Rome was aided by the desire to become acquainted with, and be directed by the sincere truth of the gospel; and the Puritan cherished a scheme of looking to the word of God as his sole and universal directory. His recent acquaintance with it and his inadequate preparation for interpreting it, led him into many errors and was the cause of the many schisms that immediately arose. He searched the scripture, not only for principles and rules, but

for mandates, and when he could find none of these, for analogies, to guide him in the smallest points of personal conduct and of public administration.

At the darkest hour of the struggle for constitutional and religious liberty the emigration to the New World began. The various political changes of centuries had tended to strengthen national feeling in England. The Norman nobility grafted upon its society had transformed the Old English thanes into the finest class of rural gentry and yeomanry that has ever existed, and it was from this class that the New England emigrants were drawn. Those left behind were engaged in overcoming perils which threatened the very existence of modern civilization.

The political future of mankind hung upon the questions at issue in England, and that most potent of forces, religious sentiment played a large part in the conflict, so that when Henry 8th, defied the Papal authority, half of England was Protestant already. Although his step was political rather than religious, the Puritan sentiment of revolt against hierarchy in general co-operated with the sentiment of national independence. Everywhere else Rome seemed to have conquered or to be conquering, while they seemed to be left, the forlorn hope of the human race.*

In coming to the New World, the colonists, harried and persecuted at home, hoped to find a haven where they could logically carry out their theory of a theocratic commonwealth undisturbed by their environment, and in this they were not disappointed, as they found a practically uninhabited wilderness; but the system itself carried within it the seeds of its own destruction. Its perils politically were from within. It was not the machinations of Laud nor of royalty which proved its undoing, but the bursting into blossom and fruit of its own tenets.

x*Vide Fiske's Beginnings of New England.

At the time of Mrs. Hutchinson's arrival the settlers had had four years of struggle in the wilderness, beset by cold, hunger and disease, exposed to the attacks of hostile savages and encountering hardships which made them old at forty. Cut off from all the refinements of life with few books and with none of the distract-

ions which tend to preserve a normal mental balance, it were not strange if their noble traits of firmness, resolution and courage had already begun to harden into intolerance, asperity and selfishness. The sweet uses of adversity seldom tend toward an easy and genial liberality either of thought or of deed. It is said that emigrants, coming over on later ships, could scarcely recognize their relatives so gaunt and haggard had they become. If the new life had wrought such change in their physical appearance much might be said of its psychological effects, culminating a few years later in the persecution of the Quakers, the strange delusions regarding witchcraft, and the many acts of fanaticism by all sects.

Holding their land under a private company and not from the crown, they had felt themselves justified in deporting any and all comers not of their faith, as deemed likely to cause disturbance. But this precaution could not prevent dissension in their own ranks. Church membership had been made the condition for exercising the franchise, in order, no doubt, to keep out the emissaries of Wentworth and Laud. But while they were thus enabled to keep out the vicious as well, they could not exclude the common workings of selfishness and passion, to say nothing of the logical consequences of independent thought. As early as 1631 religious disputes had arisen among them, not to mention differences between the officials themselves. The long service of Winthrop as Governor had aroused the fears of the more democratic and he had just been succeeded by his former associate Dudley. Then too, that "conscientiously contentious man," Roger Williams had been in the country several years and had already crossed swords with Colton and other divines, on points of doctrine, which showed him tolerant to a degree one hundred years in advance of his time. Although the fine traits of his character could not fail to have made him friends among his opponents, and he had not yet brought about his own banishment, the latter occurring about a twelve month later, yet even then he was causing much anxiety among the conservatives.

Such was the arena into which Anne Hutchinson and her party stepped when they left the ship Griffen in Boston Harbor. Instead of a peaceful, God-fearing community quietly worshipping

according to its own set formulas, it was a veritable tinder box to which she herself was destined to provide the spark. The vessel itself also carried another source of anxiety for the much tried colonists, in a copy of the Commission lately granted to the two archbishops and ten of the privy council as a commission to regulate all foreign plantations and to call in patents and charters. It was only the adroitness of the court in evading this demand that saved a surrender of the charter, an event which would have put an end to the very existence of the theocracy. Beset by foes within and without, it was a time to try the fiber of those in authority.

The Reverend John Cotton, the talented minister of St. Botolph's church had preceded Mrs. Hutchinson about a year and was installed as a colleague of the pastor, Wilson, in the Boston church. It was to sit under his teachings that she, with her family, left their home in Lincolnshire; for, as she herself quaintly says, "when our teacher came to New England, it was a great trouble unto me, my brother Wheelwright, being put by also." Herself the daughter of a minister, a Mr. Marbury, who had preached in Lincolnshire and afterwards in London, she was greatly interested in religious matters.

She had as a companion on the voyage a preacher by the name of Symmes, with whom she discussed various points of doctrine and aroused in him doubts of her orthodoxy, all of which were duly made known to the authorities by the reverend gentleman upon his arrival. This warning for a time delayed her admission to the church, but at last she was received and soon began to make her presence felt.

Her husband's house stood in the best quarter of the town, nearly opposite the home of Governor Winthrop. Here she soon became a leader in society, fast friend of Sir Henry Vane and many of the leading men and women of the colony. Born in 1600, at this time she was in the prime of life. A capable, energetic and amiable woman of good birth, being of the same family as the poet Dryden, having a vigorous intellect and dauntless courage; her failings, it is said, were vanity and a bitter tongue toward those whom she disliked. The latter trait not being confined either

to Mrs. Hutchinson, or the laity at that period. If she were able to surpass in invective, some of her reverend opponents, then, indeed, her ability and ready wit have not been over-rated.

That she was impulsive is certain, but that she was indiscreet depends upon the point of view. If she were anxious to retain her popularity and ride smoothly over the troubled waters of society then she was most indiscreet, but, if she were animated by the desire to break through the crust of formalism fast hardening over the religion of the hour, and to allow the springs of natural and heartfelt piety to well up to the surface and refresh the arid theology of the time, then, indeed, her indiscretion became discretion of an heroic type. To the disinterested student it would seem that the latter were true. She had left the refinements of her home in England, where her own and her husband's family enjoyed distinction, to follow to the new world, a preacher who was more broad minded and tolerant than his colleagues. Associated with her was Sir Henry Vane, one of the greatest Puritan statesmen of that great age. A man whom Fiske says, was spiritually akin to Jefferson and Samuel Adams. A man whose admirable qualities so won the hearts of the people that within a few months after his arrival in Boston, he was chosen Governor, at the very time when Mrs. Hutchinson was at the height of her power. The character of the other men of lesser note, who surrounded her and were destined to suffer with her, makes it apparent that there was a general revolt against the mental tyranny beginning to be exercised by the clergy. From his dream of reproducing the institutions of God's chosen people as set forth in the Bible, says one writer, the New England Puritan awoke to find that he had surrendered his new commonwealth to his priests.

Mrs. Hutchinson, very soon won the hearts of the women by her kindly ministrations in time of illness and her faithful exhortations toward a deeper and more heartfelt piety. It is curious that amid the conflicting and partisan accounts of her which have come down in history, the best proofs of her goodness of heart and noble intent are found in the recital of her daily life. It is a strange irony that she should be judged by her work, when her whole life was spent in protesting against such evidence of sanctifi-

cation. Her skill in nursing, her cheerful neighborliness, her intelligence and magnetic personality gathered about her a group of friends among the women, who soon began to assemble at her home at regular meetings to discuss the sermons delivered on Sunday and Lecture Day by John Cotton. The men held meetings for religious discourse from which women were excluded and Mrs. Hutchinson thought she was supplying a deficiency when she instituted a meeting for her own sex. At first the enterprise met with great favor and from 50 to 100 women came to listen to her expositions. Mr. Cotton's sermons met with her full approval, as did those of her brother-in-law the Reverend John Wheelwright, former rector of Bilsby, who had followed the Hutchinsons to Boston.

However, the step from discussion to criticism was short, and it soon began to be said that she cast reproaches upon the ministers, saying that none of them did preach the covenant of grace except Mr. Cotton. The two points of her doctrine which occasioned the greatest disturbance and gave rise to the far famed Antinomian controversy were, 1st. That the actual being of the Holy Ghost was present in the body of a sanctified person, and 2nd. That no sanctification can help to witness to us our justification.

Stripped of all theological verbiage, her accusations against the other ministers as being under a covenant of works rather than a covenant of Grace, simply amounted to accusing them of being teachers of forms, and that Cotton and Wheelwright appealed to the animating spirit like Luther and St. Paul. Referring to the ministers she said "A company of legall professors lie poring on the law which Chirst hath abolished."

Her teaching of the actual indwelling of the Holy Spirit carried with it the doctrine of individual inspiration, an anarchical doctrine subversive of all church authority; and the second touched the very head and front of her offending for "the ministers of New England were formalists to the core and the society over which they dominated was organized upon the avowed basis of the manifestations of the outward man." Such freedom of speech was, of course, intolerable, and so, after an upheaval which

threatened to rend the very foundations of the commonwealth, she and her supporters were driven forth with a harshness and cruelty and disregard of law, which will remain forever as a blot upon the history of Massachusetts.

In expressing her sentiments she had only voiced a wide spread feeling of discontent, Chas. Francis Adams says, "The co-called Antinomian Controversy was in reality not a religious dispute, which was but the form it took. In its essence it was a great deal more than a religious dispute; it was the first of the many New England quickenings in the direction of social, intellectual and political development. New England's earliest protest against formalism."

Before winter her adherents had become an organized political party of which Vane was the leader. It is not within the scope of this paper to follow our heroine through the foggy mazes of her court and church trials; nor in her subsequent imprisonment and final banishment from the colony. It is enough to say that through ordeals such as had brought tears of nervousness to the eyes of Sir Henry Vane, and through scenes with which her physical strenght was in every way inadequate to cope, she preserved the demeanor of a lady and displayed rare tact and judgment; conducting her case with the ability of a trained advocate. Throughout both trials her "nimble wit and voluble tongue" did not desert her in the supreme hour when the combined efforts of Governor and Deputy Governor and half a dozen divines failed to convict her of wrong doing.

Her claims to inspiration, which men and women of her temperament are prone to consider direct revelations from above, were the immediate means of her undoing.

Her life in Rhode Island, in the midst of the friends and supporters with whom she went into banishment, was a gradual development of the democratic spirit, which is the logical outcome of their tenets. The results to Rhode Island, thanks to these devoted lovers of liberty, and to Roger Williams, the noble champion of toleration, were a complete separation of church and state and the establishment of a true democracy.

Consistently following the logic of her early opinions, Anne Hutchinson herself came to hold very much the same belief as the Quakers, who were soon to follow. She did not believe in magistracy among Christians, nor ordained pastors, and did not believe in bearing arms, persuading her husband to resign from the high office he held on account of these opinions.

Driven out from this new home, after the death of her husband in 1642, by fear that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts might be extended to their settlements, and only too well aware of the sentiments with which she was regarded in her former home, she once more set her face toward the wilderness, accompanied, or followed soon, by several families of her old friends and neighbors.

An incident in her life in Rhode Island had been a solemn visitation from the mother church in Boston, in the persons of three gentlemen "of a lovely and winning spirit," who endeavored to bring her back to the fold. But to whom she replied with all her old time spirit.

The author of Chandler's Criminal Trials says that the whole family of the Hutchinson's removed from beyond New Haven to Eastchester in the territory of the Dutch. Another authority, the Puritan Welde, I believe, says they settled in the neighborhood of a place called by seamen Hellgate, which doubtless he considered a most appropriate neighborhood. It was in the summer of 1642 that she came with her son Francis and her son-in-law Collins, "a young scholar full of zeal" and commenced a plantation at Annie's Hoeck. The settlement was made on what is now known as Pelham Neck, but was long called the "Manor of Anne Hoock's Neck," and was close to the Dutch district of Vredeland, which in its turn was only a few miles west of Greenwich, Conn. where doughty Captain Underhill, one of her professed followers, had settled two years before. Here, before the sale of the land was completed, the whole family, with one exception, was murdered by the Indians.

When Roger Williams went to England, a few months previous to their arrival, to represent the affairs of Rhode Island, he was obliged to come to "Manhattoes" to embark, not being

allowed to sail from Boston. Here he found "hot wars" between the Dutch and the Indians made "terrible by the flights of men, women and children" and the removal of all that could go to Holland. True to his nature he attempted to make peace between the settlers and the savages who lived on Long Island.

Bolton, in his History of Westchester County, quotes from the records of an old trial which says, "several testimonys were read to prove that ye Indians questioned Mr. Cornell's and other plantations there about not paying for these lands, which was the occasion of cutting them off and driving away the inhabitants." Members of the Throgmorton and Cornell families having met death at the same time as the Hutchinsons, all refugees from the hatred of Massachusetts on account of their opinions. Captain John Underhill blames the Dutch authorities for the massacres. He says, "We have transplanted ourselves hither at our own cost, and many of us as have purchased our land from the Indians, the right owners thereof. But a great portion of the lands which we now occupy, being as yet unpaid for, the Indians come daily and complain that they have been deceived by the Dutch Secretary, called Cornelius, whom they have characterized even in the presence of Stuyvesant as a rogue, a nave and a liar; asserting that he himself had put their names down in a book, and saying that this was not a just and lawful payment, but a pretence and fraud similar to this which occasioned the destruction of Joes. Hutchinson and Mr. Collins to the number of nine persons."

Mr. Bolton finds that a few years later Pell claimed that he bought Pelham and Westchester of the natives and paid for the tract and that as an English subject he had a right to purchase from Connecticut, it being in His majesty's dominions. This denial, supported by the New England authorities, of the rights of the Dutch to lands they had discovered and had purchased from the Indians in 1640, taken together with the knowledge that the Indians, who murdered the little colony of heretics, belonged to a tribe of Mohegan Indians which owned the supreme authority of the Uncas Chief Sachem "who had always been the unscrupulously ally of England," leads the historian to suspect collusion between

the New England authorities and the Indians in ridding themselves of the worry of that troublesome woman's presence.

However this maybe, the fact remains that the home of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children (a family of 16 persons) which they had built for themselves on a lovely spot, southwest of the Split Rock, was burned during the terrible raid of the Indians bent on destroying the Dutch settlers and all connected with them. An Indian visited the house in the morning professing friendship, and finding the family defenceless, returned at night with his comrades, killing every member of the family, except one daughter whom they took captive; and burning the houses, barns and cattle of their neighbors also. All that saved the entire number from death was the timely arrival of a boat, which, at the cost of the lives of two of the crew, saved several women and children.

An Indian proprietor of this territory afterwards assumed her name, probably because he was an active party to the massacre, and subsequently signed deeds as Ann Hoock. His grave is also near the same spot and a rock said to be his favorite fishing place, not far away, bears his name.

Her family was not all exterminated however. The daughter Susannah, who was taken by the Indians, was recovered after four years of captivity, by the Dutch on December 30, 1657, married John Cole of Kingston, Rhode Island, where a large number of her descendants still live. Thos. Hutchinson, the historian, and last Royal Governor of Massachusetts was a lineal descendant of her son Edward Hutchinson, who was a captain in King Phillip's war and had remained in Boston along with his sister Faith, the wife of Thos. Savage.

Thus perished the woman whose consistent struggle for liberty of conscience made her hated and dreaded by the authorities of Massachusetts, but whose husband believed to be "a dear saint and servant of God." A testimony of no small weight in determining her true character. That a man such as Wm. Hutchinson, himself described as a very honest and peaceable man of good estate, who had followed his wife's fortunes through their stormy course for so many years and yet, after all they had endured to-

gether, should be able to say he thought her a dear saint and servant of God, and that he was more nearly tied to her than to the church, is sufficient proof to the average married man or woman that she was all he believed her to be.

Nothing remains to tell of her life in Eastchester but the creek which bears her name, although the spring which furnished water to the family can still be found by careful search, but the blessings of free speech for which she and many like her suffered, are the fruits of their labor.

When the Non-Conformists revolted from ecclesiastical authority and established separate churches they republicanized the church. When the individual church members revolted from the teachings of the ministers and insisted upon thinking for themselves, they established democracy in religion. With this great work the names of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson are inseparably connected; and whether her work were done wittingly, or unwittingly, the tribute of our gratitude is hers.

ESTELLE R. McVICKAR.

MRS. ROBERT Mc VICKAR,

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

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THE BATTLE OF PELL'S POINT OR PELHAM, OCTOBER 18, 1776.

WM. ABBATT, Editor Magazine of History.

The history of our Revolution (and future historians will probably say the same of the war of the Rebellion) is full, both of incidents and of men whose services were important yet neglected by historians—sometimes to the magnifying of exemplars of less real value.

Every one is supposed to be familiar with the battles of Saratoga and the surrender at Yorktown, yet how many have heard of the fight at the Crooked Billet, Pennsylvania, or of General John Lacey its hero, or of General Jethro Sumner, of North Carolina?

The former event is not even noticed by Lossing, in his *Field Book* while the Battle of Pell's Point he dismisses in three lines, in which, as has been justly remarked, he made two serious errors. Other writers treat it no better.

As a matter of fact, it was of the greatest consequence, involving as it did the safety of Washington's Army at a critical juncture, and a loss to the enemy of a greater number than on the first day at Saratoga, or at Monmouth.

To understand the situation, remember that after the defeat on Long Island, the patriot army, after leaving behind the fated garrison of Fort Washington—too few to fight yet too many to lose—had retreated as fast as possible toward White Plains. While Howe's troops were comfortably carried by sea, northward to Throgg's Neck in the town of Westchester, there to meet and be stoutly resisted by Prescott of Bunker Hill, in an encounter which the late Mr. Fordham Morris, in Scharf's History of Westchester County has justly termed "the Lexington of Westchester," Washington's troops were marching slowly northward. I say slowly because the lack of draught animals obliged them to keep pace

with the slow transport of the artillery, the commissary and quartermaster's stores. So few horses had these departments that it was necessary after drawing a cannon or wagon a few miles, to unhitch the team, leave gun or wagon, and return for another, which, in its turn was left for others. As a result the army was strung out along a long route and exposed to the danger of being suddenly and vigorously attacked and beaten in detail. Had any of the really active British officers—Erskine, Simcoe, Tarleton, or the Tory Oliver DeLancey even, been supreme, instead of the indolent Howe, it had gone hard with our forces during that march of twenty odd miles in the October of one hundred and thirty three years ago.

The rapidly succeeding events of the month were to be signalized by an encounter between the greater part of Howe's force, about seven thousand English and German troops, and a detached brigade of less than a thousand Americans. It began at early dawn within the limits of the town of Pelham, on the morning of October eighteenth, so we are almost celebrating its anniversary—and after a most obstinate resistance all day, ended at dark with an artillery duel, the American cannon being on a rocky height within the borders of the present Mount Vernon and but a short distance below the point where the electric cars cross the little Hutchinson River at East Union street, less than two miles from our meeting place.

General John Nixon, an old Indian fighter of the "old French war" had, some time before notified the commander-in-chief that the shore now called Rodman's Neck, but then Pell's Neck or Point, ought to be guarded, as a likely landing place of the enemy.

Colonel Howe's militia regiment had accordingly been stationed there, but at this time seems to have been withdrawn, and the coast above Throgg's Neck was consequently quite undefended. After Howe had spent several days on Throgg's Neck, detained from crossing Westchester Creek by the determined stand made at the present bridge at the foot of Main street, by Prescott as before referred to, he embarked most of his force and passed up the Sound to Pell's Point, where in the small hours of October 18th,

they landed (Knyphausen, with part of the Hessians, landed a few days after, on Davenport's Neck, at New Rochelle).

Here they were to be met by an officer who proved his value by ferrying over from Brooklyn the army after its disaster on Long Island. I refer of course, to John Glover, commanding the regiment of Marblehead fishermen and sailors later known as the "amphibious regiment," destined that December to play an important part at Trenton, and himself to become one of Washington's best brigadiers.

At just what point he had camped the night before is uncertain but probably some where between the Bronx and Hutchinson's Creek, above St Paul's Church in Eastchester.

His force comprised four small regiments, all Massachusetts men, commanded by himself, Colonels Baldwin, Read and Shepard; in all less than a thousand men, with three cannon. Apparently there were no battery horses and the guns were dragged by hand. Probably for this reason we shall see that they cut no figure that day.

The only authentic story of any extent of the day's fight is a letter from Glover himself four days after, to an unnamed friend in New Hampshire. He says that "very early in the morning" he saw through his field glass the Sound covered with the boats from the British men of war, landing troops on Pell's Point. Immediately sending a messenger to General Charles Lee, (then ranking next to Washington) who was three miles away (and apparently got no nearer that day) he marched with his whole force to oppose their landing.

Too late to prevent the small boats' landing, he had but reached a point about a quarter mile east of the present Bartow Station on the New Haven railroad, when on the City Island road the scarlet uniforms of the invaders appeared in the distance. Halting the main body, he sent forward one company of Read's regiment—either that of Captain Peters, Pond or Warren—to engage them while he should post the rest to the best advantage.

Here crops out the simple, earnest nature of the man, in the

passionate declaration, born of his feeling overburdened by the responsibility of sole command: "I would have given a thousand worlds to have had General Lee, or some other experienced officer, present, to direct or at least to approve, what I had done."

But as the sequel shows, Lee could have done no better. Thrown on his own resources Glover, like many another before and since rose to the occasion and came off victorious, though he seems to have been too modest to claim much credit.

Recalling possibly the rail-fence at Bunker Hill, he improved on it by posting his regiments alternately on the right and left of the road at intervals, extending very likely part way up the Split Rock Road. Behind the stone wall they awaited the foe.

While these dispositions were making, the advance company had encountered them, a party of about equal strength. The huge glacial boulder, ever since called "Glover's Rock," on the south side of the City Island road, just west of LeRoy Bay, where the roadway dips to its lowest point, marks the spot where the firing began, at about a hundred and fifty feet distance.

Five rounds were fired, which in flint-lock days required not less than fifteen minutes. Several on either side were killed or wounded and the British pressed forward.

Obeing orders, the captain withdrew his men, retreating on Read's regiment.

The British cheered, and came rapidly on until but thirty yards from the stone wall and Read's three hundred men. Suddenly the wall glistens with a long row of gun barrels, from the five foot small-bore squirrel rifle to the light shot-gun and the heavy "Tower" musket of fifteen pounds, companion to that of which Lowell sings in "The Courtin'—"

"Against the chimney crook-necks hung. And
in among 'em rusted
The old 'Queen arm' that Gran'ther Young
Fetched home from Concord busted."

Three hundred shots ring out and the advancing red coats,

smitten as unexpectedly and almost as severely as their descendants by the Boers at Magersfontein, recoil. Like the Americans whom Major André three years later, derided in the *Cow Chase*, their officers cry:

“Soldiers charge! They hear, they stand—
They turn, and run away!”

But not all—the narrow road over which now pass daily the many who never heard this story until the D. A. R. a few years ago placed a bronze tablet on the rock to commemorate it, is covered with dead or writhing men in scarlet, some of the same men who have been at Bunker Hill, for the Fourth Foot was at both.

The brief skirmish is over—for an hour and a half at least. The enemy have retreated to their main body, which is probably still landing from the fleet. But at last the shrill notes of the fife and the roll of drum playing the historic “British Grenadiers,” herald an advance—four thousand well-armed, well-drilled Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Infantry of the Line, German Chasseurs, and some dismounted cavalry. Seven cannon, to right and left of them, support them by their fire.

Let us hear once more Colonel Glover’s “plain unvarnished tale.” “We kept our post under cover of the stone wall till they came within fifty yards of us [when we] rose up and gave them the whole charge of the battalion; they halted, and returned the fire with showers of musketry and cannon-balls.”

Seven rounds are exchanged, when the difficult and often—to inexperienced troops—disastrous movement of a change of front to the rear, is successfully executed. Read’s men retreat, but form again in good order in the rear of Shepard’s, which have not yet fired a shot. A roar of three cheers from the enemy follows; they doubtless think they have retreated for good.

Dreadfully are they undeceived in another half mile where a stone wall of extra height and thickness shelters the two hundred who make up Shepard’s skeleton regiment.

Again the close range of thirty yards, again the musket-lined

wall; but this time the Colonel, a veteran of the "old French war" and the Canada expeditions, and destined, ere the Revolution ends, to have twenty-two battles to his credit, and then to suppress Shays' Rebellion—orders, "Fire by file," (or in succession) Like a pack of huge firecrackers, bang the muskets in quick and irregular succession, and at that short range every shot tells on the compact formation of the British.

They stand firm, and return the fire with a thunderous volley. For nearly an hour the two hundred "stand off" the four thousand.

Their officers' utmost exertions fail to bring the men up to the fire-fringed wall with a bayonet rush, which must inevitably have cleared it. Several times they retreat, and as often advance. The fallen leaves which dot the road have their counterpart now in many little spots of a dark red, and fallen men lie thick in the dust and on the grassy roadside.

There is one among them whose sword and single belt proclaim him an officer. While his men have fallen back, a daring private of Shepard's leaps the wall and takes hat and canteen from the prostrate form, and returns unhurt. The officer is Captain Evelyn, of the Fourth Foot, who sometime before has sent home to England an account of his experience, which, a century later is to see the light in print as "The Evelyns in America."

So the day grows apace, a series of intermittent advances on the one hand, sturdy resistance and orderly retreat on the other.

The patriots have now traversed the Split Rock road and the enemy comes on apace. Glover sees that longer resistance will be useless in face of such odds, and orders a retreat, covered by Baldwin's regiment from behind its wall.

The British bring up their artillery, and the higher ground near the head of the present Wolf's Lane gives them an advantageous spot to place it. Rapidly the patriots retreat as far as the old Post Road and turn down it to the bridge (near the old Pell house now occupied by Mr. Rodman). Here they have to ford the Hutchinson, for they took up the planks of the bridge on their advance. Let us hope the tide is out, for they have to flounder

through deep mud to the East Chester (or Mount Vernon) side, dragging their cannon through and placing them on the rocky heights beyond.

Here they open fire, the British replying from their seven guns. It is now late and the short day fades into twilight but until dark they fire away, though as Glover records, "without doing much damage on either side." The enemy, fatigued and discouraged by the events of the day, forbear pursuit, and encamp.

"All is quiet on the Potomac" of East Chester. But all along the backward way, burial parties will be busy the next day, and surgeons are now, for nearly a thousand men lie wounded or dead. All of the dead are probably buried at two or three points, where plow and spade may yet turn up their relics. Buttons, buckles, cannonballs, and such have been found, some of which are owned by the Carey family of City Island, Mr. Charles Payer of New Rochelle, the family of the late Rev. C. W. Bolton of Pelham, and an aged chestnut tree, the only thing left there which was a living witness of the battle, is full of bullets. The patriots' loss was small, not over twenty in all, thanks to their stone wall protection.

The results of Glover's all day fight were of the greatest importance, far beyond the loss, heavy though it was, inflicted on the enemy. It secured, first, one day more for Washington's force to reach White Plains, and second, Howe, stunned by the unexpected and heavy loss, encamped for several days after, near New Rochelle. All the while Washington was assembling at White Plains, where he was to fight, October 28th and for the invaluable ten days respite he was entirely indebted to the plain, matter-of-fact, man of Marblehead, who, in the letter I have quoted says: "However, I did the best I could"—a phrase which deserves to rank with the historic reply of Colonel Miller at Lundy's Lane, when asked if his regiment, the 21st Infantry, could capture a British battery. "I'll try, Sir," and succeeded.

Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, Yorktown and Appomattox, have eclipsed Pell's Point, but to Westchester County people it should be of perpetual interest, as the site of the only severe conflict, besides that at White Plains, in the county during our Revolution.

OLD ST. PAUL'S, EASTCHESTER, COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY

1664-1787.

CLARENCE STEWART MCCLELLAN, JR.

It is my great privilege and an honor, which I always deeply appreciate, to bring you to-night a message from the olden days, to recall the men and women and events of years long since passed, to tell you something about the very interesting history of the second oldest church in the vicinity of New York City. A great privilege and honor it is, *first*, because, by this simple story of a time honored shrine I hope to instill a deeper love and reverence for the old, and to revive any dormant feelings, which cherish the historic, and *second*, because by recounting the oft told reminiscences, which cluster about the old church, I truly believe I am paying the highest tribute of filial devotion to one, who, for a rectorship of 57 years, gave the best he had not only to beautify, dignify and faithfully perform the religious services of the old sanctuary, but to perpetuate and keep alive the historic annals of this historic region.

Enthusiasm for the highest and best animated Doctor Coffey's whole life.

Sincerity was stamped on all he thought, wrote and said.

He deserves and has won a lasting place in the hearts of all those who knew and loved him.

To him I am indebted for most of the facts in this little history I am about to present. Many times have we talked together about the history of the old church, and many hours have we spent in collecting data and relics pertaining to the history of this locality.

While with him I have lived through all the events I am going to tell you about to such a realistic extent that often I've believed myself living in 1776 rather than in 1909, indeed, somewhat of a fossil at the opening of the Revolution.

By way of preamble and for a clearer understanding of my topic, I wish to sketch briefly and hastily the historical events of this locality, Eastchester and Pelham, just preceding the erection of the old church at Eastchester.

The Indians here were the Aqueanouncks with Woariataqus, Annhooke, Porridge and Gramatan as their chiefs, and their principal abode was on the banks of what is now the Hutchinson Creek, the Anne Hook's brook of old.

In 1640 this tribe conveyed to the Dutch of New Netherlands all the territory between Greenwich, Ct., and the Hudson down to the Harlem River and along the Sound and, of course, in this grant Eastchester was included.

An event occurred in this locality in 1642 which has become one of universal interest and the horror of which was long felt upon the Coloinists about here. I refer to the coming of Anne Hutchinson and her awful death by the hands of the savages.

Subjected to a long nerve racking trial in 1637, at Boston, to which City she had come in 1634 and driven from Boston because of her religious teachings, Anne Hutchinson fled to Roger Williams' colony at Providence, R. I. Here she stayed until 1642, when, in September of that year, receiving a grant of land from the Dutch, she, with a colony of sixteen persons, came to the vicinity of Eastchester and settled in Pelham. The terrible Indian Massacre of the whites during the autumn and winter of 1642-1643 resulted in the murder of Anne Hutchinson and all her colony save one, and in the entire destruction by fire of Anne Hutchinson's home. The well known "Split Rock" on the road leading to the Sound is about the site of the Hutchinson settlement. Sometime ago suggestions were made as to the suitability of placing a bronze tablet appropriately inscribed on "Split Rock." It is sincerely to

be hoped the matter will be soon taken up and its ultimate purpose be realized. Such an historic spot should be marked.

The year 1654 witnessed the arrival into Pelham of Thomas Pell, the first Lord of the Manor of Pelham, who with his colony came from Fairfield, Connecticut. They settled not far from the place where the "Split Rock" Road enters the Shore Road, indeed, by the very junction of these two roads until a few months ago, the old Pell Treaty Oak stood in all the glory of its old age. Under this old tree Pell and the Indians signed a treaty Nov. 14, 1654.

"What tales, if there were tongues in trees

That giant oak could tell"

But the old oak is gone. Only an iron fence surrounds the place where it stood. Another historic spot. Why not a tablet for it?

Further back from the road near the old ivy covered Bartow House you can still see the Pell family graveyard. It is a small enclosure, surrounding a few old broken tombstones.

A large high white stone erected in the enclosure in 1862 reads as follows:—

This stone
is placed here in token of
respect for the
memory
of and to mark the place where
lie buried the mortal
remains of
several of the descendants of
John Pell
who was born in the year 1643
and died in the year 1700
the son of
the Rev. John Pell D. D.
of Essex in England
and nephew of
Thomas Pell
the first proprietor
of the
Lordship of the Manor of Pelham
Born in the year 1603
and died in the year 1669.
1862

On each of the four posts of the enclosing fence is the Pell crest and inscriptions refering to the Pells and their land grants. It is a most interesting spot, this little graveyard and is worthy of a visit.

The old Pell Manor House is no longer extant. It stood very near this graveyard, somewhat southwest of the present mansion.

We do not hear much of Thomas Pell again until 1664 when he granted to James Eustis, Phillip Pinckney and others the district now called Eastchester.

Originally named Hutchins after Ann Hutchinson, the "Ten Farms" because it was divided among ten proprietors, finally about 1666, the settlement was christened Eastchester in memory of the old "castra" or Roman camp sites so common in England even to this day.

The "covenant" drawn up in 1665 for the future government of the colony is remarkably quaint. Here are some of the clauses form it.

"That every man keep a good lock to his door."

"That some every Lord's Day stay at home for the safety of our wives and children."

"That no man shall give entertainment to a foreigner who shall carry himself obnoxious."

"That a day be set apart each spring for the killing of rattlesnakes."

The following clause I wish to especially emphasize—

"That we give new encouragement to Mr. Brewster each other week to give us a word of exhortation and that when we are settled we meet together every other week one hour, to talk of the best things."

In 1665 religious services in Eastchester began. On July 29, 1674 Richard Shute went as representative from Eastchester to the Governor to have Rev. Ezekiel Fogge established at Eastchester and to have the liberty to build a chapel. By 1677 a house, lot

and £40 per year were determined upon for a minister. How like the description in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" it seems.

"The village preacher's modern mansion rose
A man he was to all the country dear
And passing rich with £40 a year."

In 1680 we find Rev. Morgan Jones officiating at Westchester and Eastchester united with Westchester to support him.

Samuel Goding, who succeeded Morgan, was instructed to read the Bible and other good sermon books and to carry on the Sabbath exercises at Eastchester according to Hon. Col. Fletcher's order.

On May 9, 1693, it was resolved "that a meeting house should be built and Captain William Haiden, John Drake, John Pinckney, Richard Shute and Henry Fowler Sr. were appointed overseers to superintend the work." In 1696 it was determined to light the meeting house by a lantern at every seat, and a regular pew holding list was made out at this time. 1699 shows the meeting house not quite completed for on December 26 this occurs in the town records—"to haste and erect the said meeting house and that it shall be finished at or before the 31st of May 1700."

By 1700 Eastchester was a considerable settlement. Education had been begun, for a school house had been built in 1683. The times were more peaceable for the fort built in 1675 was now torn down. Many houses had been put up, farms laid out, a highway, the King's Highway-later the historic Boston Post Road was constructed and a "green," the gift of the Pinckney family, became the center of the village life and part of it a burial place. In 1700 the meeting house was completed and in the same year Eastchester became a separate parish. This meeting house was the first "Eastchester Church." It was built by the Independents and stood on the "green" directly north of the present church, between two locust trees still standing. Here it stood until 1776, when it was torn down by Hessian soldiers and used as fuel in the present church which, in 1776, was converted into a hospital. As late as 1793 the foundations of this first church could be seen and I am told upon good authority, these old foundation stones are still

buried under the green as well as the bodies of many of the original settlers.

The first meeting house is described as a frame building about 18 feet to the eaves, 28 feet long and 14 feet wide, the sides as well as the roof being shingled. The interior was wainscoated and had a gallery.

Here the Rev. Joseph Morgan preached. He was a sincere man, devout and much beloved by all except her majesty, Queen Mary, who in November 1702, had Morgan removed and the Rev. John Bartow inducted into the Eastchester parish by Governor. Cornbury.

The Rev. John Bartow was the son of Doctor Thomas and Grace Bartow of Crediton, Devonshire, England and early graduated from Christ College, Cambridge, and became a well known English Clergyman. In 1702 Bartow was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as missionary to America.

On November 19 of the same year Bartow was settled over the parishes of Eastchester, Westchester, Yonkers and Pelham and in Westchester he established and became the first rector of St. Peter's Church, where to honor Bartow, a lineal descendant of his, Morey Hall Bartow, erected a memorial tablet some time ago.

About this time 1703-4, the Presbyterian church emerged into that of the Episcopal for this fact is clearly brought out from the following notice of John Bartow. Besides Westchester, at which he resides, Mr. Bartow officiated once a month at Eastchester." Upon Mr. Bartow's coming among them the Presbyterians of the place "were so well satisfied with the liturgy and doctrine of the church that they foresook their minister and conformed to the Church of England."

Here is another item of interest:—"On the 20th of March 1703, it was agreed to hire a man to repair ye meeting house in Eastchester and in making a pulpit and pew seat and further to sell and make other seats in the same as far as the boards that are already at hand will go."

In 1713 towards the close of his rectorship Bartow contributed £9 6s. 6d. towards rectifying the pews and seats in Eastchester.

Bartow died at Eastchester, February 9, 1726, and was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Standard, who was rector of Eastchester Church from 1726 until 1760.

Standard was a medical doctor of Taunton, Somersetshire, England, but in 1725 he abandoned his profession and, like Bartow, as a missionary sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he came to these shores. Upon his arrival here Standard took up his residence at Westchester, but 16 years later we find him living in a substantial rectory at Eastchester, on the Alstyne property opposite the church.

About the time of Standard's removal to Eastchester a period of religious revival began, destined to partake of the farce and be subjected to caricature. Nocturnal seances and prayer meetings accompanied by screeching, screamings, sobbings, shouting, fainting convulsions, nervous spasms, exerted a most baneful effect upon the neighborhood. But apparently the Episcopal congregation pursued the usual even tenor of its way for writes Rev. Standard—"Notwithstanding the country swarms with vagrant preachers called 'New Lights' my congregations are more numerous than usual."

An event of some importance occurred in the old church on September 28, 1755, when the President of King's College (now Columbia University) the Rev William Johnson, son of the famous Dr. Samuel Johnson of literary note, preached the morning sermon. There is a local interest connected with Rev. William Johnson. He went to England, received holy orders and was returning to become assistant rector at Eastchester when he was seized with small pox and died June 20, 1756, much lamented for he was a promising young man and would have done most excellent work in building up the fast growing parish of Eastchester.

The sermon of Johnson's which was preached in 1755, is still preserved. It is an interesting one—very characteristic both in expression and sentiment of the early eighteenth century. The theme was "Happiness." If we can but consider life in this world,

how short and uncertain it is. Think of the many accidents by which we are liable to be destroyed every day. We are children of time, dwelling in houses of the flesh whose foundation is in the dust. We know not what a day may bring forth.

“One of the greatest necessities to happiness is health, and yet how very uncertain it is. We may be in perfect health today, but tomorrow we may be choking with the quincy, suffering with the gout, in contortions with convulsions or being eaten up with a burning fever. Again, bodily pleasure is necessary to happiness. If we are hungry we eat, and if we are poor we borrow, but when in plenty, we revel in dissipation and there is not a morsel left for soul to feed upon, not a crumb for it to relish and not a drop for its refreshment.

“This world is no place for the soul. It goes from city to city and finds no place of habitation. Happiness here is not unchanging. There is nothing good or lasting here. Happiness comes only to him who has unchangeable steadfast and lasting faith in God.”

The bell in use is the very one which in 1758, Rev. Standard presented to the church. It was cast in Whitehall foundry London, and is inscribed—“The gift of Rev. Thomas Standard, 1758—Lester and Peck fecit.”

During the Revolution this bell together with the church Bible and Prayer Book were buried for safe keeping. After the war they were exhumed and restored to their original use.

But Standard's rectorship was soon to be darkened by the tragic death of his wife, Mary. Here is the story as told in the “N. N. Post Boy”—“We have the following most shocking and melancholy account from Eastchester that on Friday morning, the 27th of January, Mrs. Mary Standard, aged seventy years, wife to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Standard of that place, was found dead on the chimney hearth, with her head, breast and arms burnt— —it is imagined the poor old gentlewoman must either have been seized with a fit or in rising from her chair had fallen into the fire.

Mary Standard was buried on the Green. In January 1760,

shortly after his wife's death, the Doctor, heartbroken, passed away and he too was interred on the Green with Mary, his wife. Here they remained buried until 1818 when they were exhumed and re-interred under the chancel of the present church.

A tablet to Standard's memory in the church bears this inscription—

To the memory of
 THE REV. THOMAS STANDARD, A. M., M. D.
 A Missionary of the Society for the
 Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts,
 The second rector of this church,
 Inducted June 8th, 1727.
 After thirty-three years of faithful service
 Departed this life at Eastchester, January, 1760
 "Nothing doubting," as his will attests,
 "I shall be raised again by the Mighty Power of God,
 To a glorious resurrection thro Jesus Christ
 My blessed Saviour and Redeemer."
 In 1758 he presented the bell which still
 calls the children of his people to the
 worship of Almighty God.
 "By it being dead yet speaketh."
 In 1818 his remains with those of
 Mary his wife
 Removed from the site of the old church on
 the Green were buried beneath the chancel
 of this edifice.
 This tablet is erected at Easter, 1875,
 from offerings in this church on
 all saints days 1866 to 1874.

Copy of inscription on tablet in St Paul's Church, Eastchester, N. Y.

But while the religious history of the community was going on, politics were by no means in a dormant state and one of the most hotly contested elections ever held in these parts took place on Eastchester Green before the old church on October 29, 1733. This

election is known in history as the "Great Election of 1733." The following article is taken from the New York Weekly Journal of Monday, Dec. 24, 1733, "containing the freshest advices, foreign and domestic."

Westchester, Oct. 29th, 1733, "On this day Lewis Morris Esq., late chief justice of the province, was, by a majority of voices, elected a representative from the county of Westchester. Election of great expectation; the court and country interest was exerted (as is said) to the utmost. I shall give my readers a particular account of it, as I had it from a person that was present at it. Nicholas Cooper, Esq., high sheriff of the said county, having, by paper affixed to the church of Eastchester and other public places, giving notice of the day and place of election, without mentioning any time of the day it was to be done, which made the electors on the side of the late judge very suspicious that some fraud was intended—to prevent which about fifty of them kept watch upon and about the green at Eastchester (the place of the election) from 12 o'clock the night before till the morning of that day. The other electors, beginning to move on Sunday afternoon and evening, so as to be at New Rochelle by midnight, their way lay through Harrison's Purchase, the inhabitants of which provided for their entertainment as they passed each house in their way, having a table plentifully covered for that purpose. About midnight they all met at the house of William Le Count, at New Rochelle, whose house, not being large enough to entertain so great a number, a large fire was kindled in the street, by which they sat till day light, at which time they began to move. They were joined on the hill at the east end of the town by about seventy horse of the electors of the lower part of the country, and then proceeded towards the place of election in the following order, viz. First rode two trumpeters and three violins; next four of the principal freeholders, one of which carried a banner, on one side of which was affixed, in gold capitals, "King George," and on the other, in golden capitals, "Liberty and Law," next followed the candidate Lewis Morris, Esq., late chief justice of this province, then two colors, and at sun rising they entered upon the green of Eastchester, the place of election, followed by above three hundred

horse of the principal freeholders of the country (a greater number than had ever appeared for one man since the settlement of that county). After having rode three times around the green, they went to the houses of Joseph Fowler and Jas. Child, who were well prepared for their reception; the late chief justice was met, on his alighting, by several gentlemen who came there to give their votes for him. About 11 o'clock appeared the candidate of the other side, William Forster, Esq., schoolmaster, appointed by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and lately made, by commission from his Excellency, (the present governor) Clerk of the Peace and Common Pleas in that county, which commission, it is said, he purchased for the valuable consideration of one hundred pistoles, given by the governor; next him came two engines, borne by two of the freeholders; then followed the Honorable James De Lancy, Esq., chief Justice of the Province of New York, and the Honorable Frederick Phillipse, Esq., second judge of the said province and baron of the exchequer, attended by about a hundred and seventy horse of the freeholders and friends of the said Forster and the two judges; they entered the green on the east side, and, riding twice round it, their word was "No Land Tax." As they passed, the second judge very civilly saluted the late chief justice by taking off his hat, which the late judge returned in the same manner, some of the late judge's party crying out "No Excise;" and one of them was heard to say (though not by the Judge) "No pretender;" upon which, Forster, the candidate replied, "I will take notice of you:" they, after that, retired to the house of one Baker, which was prepared to receive and entertain them. About an hour after, the high sheriff came to town finely mounted, the housings and holster caps being scarlet, richly laced with silver. Upon his approach, the electors on both sides went into the green where they were to elect, and after having read his majesty's writ, bid the electors proceed to the choice, which they did, and a great majority appeared for Mr. Morris, the late judge; upon which a poll was demanded. Morris, the candidate, several times asked the sheriff upon whose side the majority appeared, but could get no other reply but that a poll must be had, and accordingly, after about two hours delay in getting benches, chairs and tables, they began to poll. Soon after,

one of those called Quakers, a man of known worth and estate, came to give his vote for the late judge. Upon this, Forster, and the two Fowlers, Moses and William, chosen by him to be inspectors, questioned his having an estate, and required the sheriff to tender him the book to swear, in due form of law, which he refused to do; but offered to take his solemn affirmation, which both by the laws of England and the laws of this province was indulged, to the peo- called Quakers, and had always been practised, from the first election of representatives, in this province, to this time, and never refused; but the sheriff was deaf to all that could be alleged on that side; and notwithstanding that he was told by the late chief justice and James Alexander, Esq., one of his Majesty's council, that such a procedure was contrary to law, and violent attempt of the liberties of the people, he still persisted in refusing the said Quaker to vote, and in like manner did refuse seven and thirty Quakers more—men of known and visible estates. This Cooper, now high sheriff of the said county, is said not only to be a stranger in that county, but not having a foot of land, or other visible estate in it, unless very lately granted, and it is believed he has not where withall to purchase any. The polling had not been long continued before Mr. Edward Stephen, a man of very considerable estate in the said county, did openly, in the hearing of all the free- holders there assembled, charge William Forster, Esq., the candi- date on the other side, with being a Jacobite, and in the interest of the Pretender, and that he should say to Mr. William Willett (a person of good estate and known integrity, who was at that time present and ready to take oath to the truth of what was said) that true it was he had taken the oaths to his Majesty, King George, and enjoyed a place in the government under him, which gave him bread, yet notwithstanding that, should James come into England, he should think himself obliged to go there and fight for him. This was loudly and strongly urged to Forster's, who denied it to be true; and no more was said of it at that time. About eleven o'clock that night the poll was closed, and it stood thus:—

For the Late Chief Justice.....	231
For the Quakers	38

For William Forster	151
For difference	118

	269

So that the late chief justice carried it by a great majority, without the Quakers. Upon closing the poll the other candidate, Forster, and the sheriff wished the late chief justice much joy. Forster said he hoped the late judge would not think the worse of him for setting up against him, to which the replied, he believed he was put upon it against his inclinations, but that he was highly blameable, and who did or should know better for putting the sheriff, who was a stranger, and ignorant in such matters, upon making so violent an attempt upon the liberty of the people, which would expose him to ruin if he were worth \$10,000 if the people aggrieved should commence suit against him. The people made a loud huzza, which the late chief judge blamed very much, as what he thought not right. Forster replied, he took no notice of what the common people did, since Mr. Morris did not put them upon the doing of it.

The indentures being sealed, the whole body of electors waited on their new representative to his lodgings with trumpets sounding, and violins playing, and in a little time took their leave of him. Thus ended the Westchester election to the general satisfaction.

New York, November 5th. On Wednesday, 31st October, the late chief, but now representative for the County of Westchester, landed in this city about five o'clock in the evening, at the ferry stairs. On his landing he was saluted by general fire of the guns from the merchant vessels in the road, and was received by great numbers of the most considerable merchants and inhabitants of this city, and by them with loud acclamations of the people as he walked the streets, conducted to the Black Horse tavern, where a handsome entertainment was prepared for him at the charge of the gentlemen who received him, and in the middle of one side of the room was fixed a tablet with golden capitals, "King George, Liberty and Law." The taverns along the Post Road did a good business that day. Old Baker's

Tavern near the church was the scene of the merrymaking until dawn at the time of that election. The friends of Morris certainly must have drunken up all the ale to be had in Eastchester that memorable day if we can trust tradition.

Towards the close of Standard's rectorship the meeting house of 1692 began to show signs of decay so in full appreciation and anticipation of a new church, Doctor Standard requested upon presenting the bell in 1758 that his body (with that of his wife) be interred under the chancel of the new church.

The hope for a new church was realized. In 1764 came the Rev. John Milner, a Princeton graduate, and with his coming the corner stone of the church was laid in 1764 and the church completed one year later, 1765, the date inscribed on the little brown stone over the Tower door.

All things were now ready, upon Milner's retirement, to receive a rector destined later to become the most famous clergyman ever associated with the old church. The Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury assumed charge in 1766—the same Seabury who, in 1783, became the first bishop of Connecticut and the first American bishop.

Samuel Seabury was the son of a Congregational family, a graduate of Yale and later during the Revolution a British Army chaplain, whose main duty of the secular nature was to make maps of Long Island for the British Generals. Seabury was an exceedingly high churchman and in politics a staunch Tory. The latter fact especially did not tend to foster a very kindly feeling between him and his parishoners who were all as staunch patriots as he was a Tory. Besides the growing sentiment for Independence and its opposition on the part of a British tyrant, together with such measures as the Stamp Act, did not in the least tend to ameliorate the conditions of the parish. Seabury was threatened, several times fired upon and finally forced to flee from the old church to save his life. With Seabury's sudden departure, religious services in the church ceased. From 1776 to 1787 the church as a church was closed.

In October of 1776, however, the building was converted into a hospital by Col. Emmerich, the Hessian General, who at that time

established his headquarters at the old Philomen Fowler House not a great distance from the church.

It may be of interest at this point and not wholly irrelevant, to describe to you the appearance of the church during the Revolution. The building consisted of a tower surmounted by a sort of heavy timber frame work to support the bell and the main body of the church, now the church proper.

That is all. The windows were plain, of tiny square panes. There were two doors, the north side door and the tower door.

To resume the narrative—

During the Hessian occupancy the first church on the green was pulled down and used as kindling wood for the hospital. There was no floor to the church at this time, which gave rise to very unsanitary conditions with a result that a contagious disease broke out in the hospital, which disease caused the death of many of the Hessians soldiers confined in the old church. The dead were buried hastily and promiscuously with no record kept of their names or rank. Into a "Sand Pit" still shown in the southern part of the churchyard near the wall they were thrown and there their dust mouldered into clay.

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart one pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands that rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."

From the fact of its being used as a hospital, several traditions have grown up about the old church. Some say the dents in the tower door were made by the sword of a Hessian trooper in a fit of anger, and others affirm that on the eve of All Hallows the souls of the departed soldiers who lie in the "Sand Pit" come back and their ghosts patrol the churchyard and solemnly march to distant muffled drum beats. But you must take tradition as you would some medicine,—Dilute it well and say nothing.

On the 18th of October, 1776, the old church witnessed a Revolutionary struggle of some note—the little known but import-

ant Battle of Pell's Point fought on the hills of Pelham across the creek valley from the church. The Americans, 750 in number, under Col. John Grover early that morning passed down the Mile Square Road, marched by the church along the Boston Post Road to Wolf's Lane and so on to Pell's Point to meet the oncoming of Gen. Howe's four thousand whom the patriots succeeded in delaying, thus giving Washington ample time to reach White Plains and fortify. All along the "Split Rock" Road, Wolf's Lane and part of the Boston Post Road the battle raged. At sunset a cannonade was commenced across the valley just above the church and one of the balls fired by the British and dug up near the church is now in my possession. Nightfall closed the battle.

While the war was in progress some of the inhabitants of Eastchester, fearing the safety of the Bell, Bible and large church Prayer Book, had them removed from the church and buried on the present Halsey estate, then the old Vincent place. This was in 1775. In 1791 they were restored to their original places and uses, their secret burial place being known only to seven loyal patriots of Eastchester. Two of these time honored relics can still be seen. They are kept in the closet of the vestry room while the bell hangs in the belfry. The Bible was printed in 1759, the Prayer Book in 1719 and the prayers used in it used by Seabury against Washington were during the Civil War directed against Jeff Davis.

During the year 1777 the roads about the old church were patrolled by 500 of the Connecticut line while supplies were being conveyed to the American army then at White Plains.

In the spring of the same year there was established on Long Island Sound the very efficient "Whale Boat Service." Whale boats propelled by oars "would dart across the Sound under cover of darkness," land near a Tory house and its crew take the Tory inmates prisoners and plunder the dwelling. One of the most brilliant captures was made at the mouth of Eastchester Creek by some fisherman from Darien, Ct. They seized the market sloop, which daily plied between Eastchester and New York City, took her up along side of the "Schuldham," a British vessel, on the pretense of desiring to sell some truck. While the sale was being made, a

band of men concealed in the hull rushed out, boarded the "Schuldharn," overpowered the crew and ran her up the Sound to New London, Conn.

A skirmish of no little importance occurred near the church on Oct. 3d, 1779 when Lieutenant Gill of the American Dragoons was suddenly surprised by a large force of British infantry. Gill fought well and long, but finally fell into the enemy's power. Shortly after this, according to Hugh Gaine's Gazette, Gen. Parsons and his troops were surprised and overtaken in Eastchester one winter's night by a superior force of Red coats and most outrageously butchered by men whose aim in war seems to have been a satisfying the passion for blood.

Another cruel event took place at about the same time as the Parson's affair. The Vincents were the blacksmiths of the town during the Revolution. There were two brothers, Elijah and Gilbert Vincent, and they lived at the present Halsey House—"the old house with the white gates." One Sunday morning, so the story runs, an American officer demanded of Gilbert that Gilbert shoe the officer's horse. Gilbert being a very religious sort of fellow, refused whereupon the American drew his sword and struck the blacksmith to the ground. As a result the other brother, Elijah, received a commission from the British and with a troop of gallant followers became the scourge to the Americans in the neighborhood.

Subsequently the Vincent house was the scene of another tragedy. A very beautiful woman, Mrs. Isabel Drake, was stopping at the Vincents, while her husband, an officer in Washington's Army, was away with the Continentals. A Hessian captain, probably one of those who were in charge of the church hospital, made advances to her. She resented. The fellow continued his familiarities. So emboldened did he become that he endeavored to reach her room by climbing a tree a branch of which projected to the lady's window. A negro servant, who was in the garden at the time, seeing the captain, raised his gun and was about to fire when a bolt of lightning crashed down and struck the dastard dead.

The shattered tree long remained the memento of Divine judgment.

But while speaking of the Revolutionary period of the church's history, that old question may arise as to whether or not Washington ever ate, slept, drank, rode, tied his horse, swore or told the absolute truth in any house in the vicinity. In answering it, I say "yes." The immortal George did stop in Eastchester. The record is authentic, for three days during the war he was ill at the old Guion Tavern, which stood until 1895, on the Post Road opposite the western wall of the church. So kindly did Mrs. Guion wait upon George that, when he left, he wished to show his appreciation by some gift. "Just kiss my right cheek" said the madam. George obeyed the injunction and Mrs. Guion ever after that saw to it that the spot on her cheek that had been kissed by the illustrious General was never washed.

Throughout the entire period of the American Revolution the old church stood in the very heart of the illfated "Neutral Ground." One has only to read Fenimore Cooper's "Spy" to catch a glimpse of some of the horrors the old church must have witnessed. Indeed there is good reason to believe this church and this vicinity were the haunts of Harvey Birch, and that the very men and women described by Cooper in his famous novel often went by the old sanctuary and looked upon its walls and graveyard.

When the Revolution was done the church was made a court house. This was in 1787 and Aaron Burr presided. Soon after that came Rev. Andrew Fowler, who re-opened the church, and John Ireland who gave it in 1795 the name St. Paul's.

SOME HISTORIC HOUSES OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

MISS SUSANNE STONE.

New York has tried in vain for years past to assimilate old Eastchester Village, but at last this indigestible suburban morsel begins to hope that it is soon to be in fact, as well as in name a part of the City.

Eastchester has been plotted on the City map, and its gardens, fields and woodlands, appear as gridironed by imaginary streets, but the place remains in aspect and spirit the sleepy old Colonial Village that it always has been. A smart new cottage has gone up here and there, and Eastchester sends a few commuters to New York every morning, but most of the inhabitants dwell in quaint little houses, with low half stories, from which tiny windows wink at the passer-by. Half of the houses have flourishing kitchen gardens and the whole place is noisy in spring and early summer, with the cluck of maternal hens. Most persons do not know it, but you may go from Eastchester to New York by steamer if you can ever find one when the tide in Eastchester Creek, or more magnificently called Hutchinson River, is right for letting the little boat down the tortuous steam and into the Sound.

It is a quaint and charming bit of old Westchester County and has long manfully resisted conquest at the hand of its vast neighbor. The place is full of Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary tradition.

A few hundred yards from old St. Paul's is the great wooden gateway, leading into the neglected grounds of the old Vincent homestead, now called the Halsey House. The Vincents were the village blacksmiths in Revolutionary days, a sturdy tribe, self respecting and courageous, but touched with a pride and bitterness that led to the greatest mistake of their lives. One Sunday in the

midst of the Revolutionary struggle, Gilbert Vincent, was ordered by Col. Smith, an American officer, to shoe the officer's horse. Being Sunday, Gilbert refused to comply with the request. The angry officer struck him to the ground with his sword. Gilbert's brother took a commission with the enemy and became the terror of the neighborhood.

The bell, prayer-book and bible of old St. Paul's Church were buried on the Halsey estate for safe keeping during the war. The old blacksmith's house is still standing, a long, low Dutch structure.

For a period of six months during the administration of John Adams in 1797, the old Halsey House was used as the capitol of the United States, as yellow fever was then raging in Philadelphia, the National Capitol. The house was owned by Col. William Stephen Smith, who married John Adams' only daughter. A numbers of letters were written from here mainly with reference to the propriety of calling the next Congress to meet in New York City. The following letter is selected:

Eastchester, 12 Oct. 1797.

To T. Pickering,
Sec. of State

Dear Sir:

I arrived here at Col. Smith's last night with my family, and I shall make this my home till we can go to Philadelphia in safety. If you address your letters to me at Eastchester, and recommend them to the care of Chas. Adam, Esq., at New York, I shall get them without much loss of time; but if a mail could be made up for Eastchester, they might come sooner. I know not whether this can be done without appointing a post master at this place, and I know of no one to recommend.

I shall divide my time between Eastchester till the meeting of Congress.

With great regard,
John Adams."

It is a singular coincidence that the body of Pres. John Adams' grandson, George Washington Adams, drowned in Long Island

Sound in 1839, should have floated into Eastchester Creek and been recovered by one of the wardens of Old Eastchester Church. Mrs. John Quincy Adams, mother of this unfortunate young man, presented the church with a silver chalice in recognition of the service rendered.

Another inn situated on the Boston Post Road not far from its junction with the Westchester Road, as early as 1728 was kept by William Baker and during the Revolution, by Chas. Guion. The bit of lawn in front of this present inn is shaded by huge elms that must have been well grown trees when Washington last passed that way.

For generations the Boston coach stopped at the inn in its journeys east and west. It was at this tavern that Gov. Geo. Clinton in 1783 at the evacuation of New York, assembled the members of the State council in pursuance of the act passed Oct. 23, 1779, and entitled "An Act to provide for the temporary government of the Southern part of this State whenever the enemy shall abandon or be disposed of the same, and until the Legislature can be convened."

This inn held its own as a popular stopping place for a number of years. "I thence proceeded to Eastchester where I slept all night in a good bed at Mr. Guion's" writes Washington.

Within a few yards of the fifteenth milestone on the way to Boston are two entrances to as wild, and delightful a spot as any city can boast, the old Seton Homestead.

The Setons, of which family Mgr. Seton is perhaps the best known member, in these days, were an old Westchester county family who turned Catholics more than a century ago. You may see this homestead by the half obliterated lane from its junction with the Boston Road, a lovely walk, much of it through a wild tangle of shrubs and climbing vines. The lane admits the traveler not only to the grounds about the house, but as well to a densely shaded brook with two waterfalls; hidden deep in a beautiful hemlock grove. Close by the brook is the quaint little cottage of an old retainer of the Setons. Nothing in New York can exceed the rural charm of the deeply shaded cottage with its outlook upon the

little brook, and across the fields to the Vincent Homestead. Philemon and Baucis would be well housed in such a place. It is easy to imagine what the event of the arrival of the Boston Coach must have been to the occupants of the cottage, in the days when the master of the Seton homestead held that no gentleman should reside within five miles of that new, fangled thing, a railroad. "Cragdon" the Setons called their place, is still one of the loneliest and loveliest spots though it has ceased now to be a private residence.

A mile eastward from Eastchester is the old mill site where a Colonial tide mill ground corn for Washington's army. Nearby the mill and so close to the water's edge that high tide floods the cellar, is the quaint old Dutch house once occupied by the miller.

What is, without doubt, the oldest and most historic dwelling house in and around Mt. Vernon, is still standing after the better part of two centuries of use, and in general appearance, the house has not changed a particle since the stirring days when thirteen colonies struggled and fought for life with the Indians, and later for independence with the Britisher. No other house in this City dates back as far as this and none have housed a family as prominent in the life of each succeeding generation as patriotic and as conspicuous in army service as has the old Fay Homestead. Of a plain, simple architecture with a chimney at each end painted white, the old Fay house impresses one at once with its suggestion of Colonial days. The floors in the upper story are the same that were put down nearly 175 years ago, the boards being two feet wide. One of the relics in the house is a very old family Bible printed by John Baskett in 1723. It is worn with age; many of the entries bear dates of the Revolutionary period or of the years first preceding that struggle.

This house which stands on what was once part of the old Mile Square Raod, one of Westchester's principal turnpikes, is the only remaining structure of the original hamlet of Eastchester, which consisted of just four houses of which this was one. This house possesses a history almost as interesting as old St. Paul which is just opposite.

It was in 1723, the year of Geo. Washington's birth at Popes Creek, Va., that some members of the Fay family came to New York and settled upon what is now Eastchester, as the place for their home. One of the old fashioned house raisings, so much the custom with our ancestors, took place on that day, one and three quarter centuries ago, when the house that was destined to see the light of the strenuous 20th century, first sprang into being under the magic touch of hammer and saw.

The Fay family occupied the house continuously up to a few years before the Revolution when it was leased to a man named Crawford who turned it into a tavern.

While the old house served as a tavern, many people of note are said to have been within its walls. Rev. Isaac Wilkins, one of the early rectors of old St. Paul's stopped there; Henry Birch, the famous peddler spy, immortalized by Fenimore Cooper, is supposed to have tarried there. Col. Joseph Fay was with the Continental armies in the Revolution.

Among the more interesting relics at the Fay homestead is the original letter written by Ethan Allen to Geo. Washington recommending Col. Joseph Fay to the American commander. It is dated March 6th, 1779. It states that Col. Fay had been loyal and valiant during the Revolution, and a soldier who had been conspicuous on all occasions. The writing is faded and yellow, but it is the same paper that Col. Fay carried to Washington.

During the battle of Pell's Point, Lord Howe had been making his headquarters at the Ferris House, in what is now the Westchester County Club grounds. On the 12th of October 1776, while the family were at breakfast, the British troops disembarked and Lord Howe and his officers rode up to the house. The Ferris were Revolutionists, but this of course, made no difference to the intruders. Into the house rode the company, some of the officers even attempting to ride up the stairs. The hoof marks of the horses are still to be seen in the hall and on the treads of the staircase.

James Ferris was away at the time, but his wife, renowned alike for her beauty and spirit, was at home. While she enter-

tained these enemies of her country, she conveyed news of their plans to Washington, part of whose army was encamped on the other side of Westchester Creek.

This information was procured by her butler, who, while waiting on the table managed to hear enough from the remarks made during the conversation, to enable them to form a definite idea of when and where the attack was to be made.

Earthworks had been thrown up on the place where the old Presbyterian Church now stands and the old well standing by the Creek had been fortified. The British were repulsed and what would have been a serious setback to the American cause was prevented.

Still another house of historic interest still standing in the vicinity is that which during the Revolution belonged to Gouverneur M. Wilkins. It stands on Scrivins Point and has now passed into the possession of the Portchester Railroad.

In the year 1776 this house was used as a hiding place by three clergymen, Cooper, Chandler and Seabury. From a letter of Dr. Seabury's we learn that the charge brought against these ministers was "that they had in connection with the Society of the British Ministry, laid a plan for enslaving America."

He goes on to say, "I do not think that these people who raised this calumny believe one syllable of it; but they intend it as an engine to turn popular fury upon the church which, should the violent scheme of some of our eastern neighbors succeed, will probably fall a sacrifice to the persecuting spirit of independence."

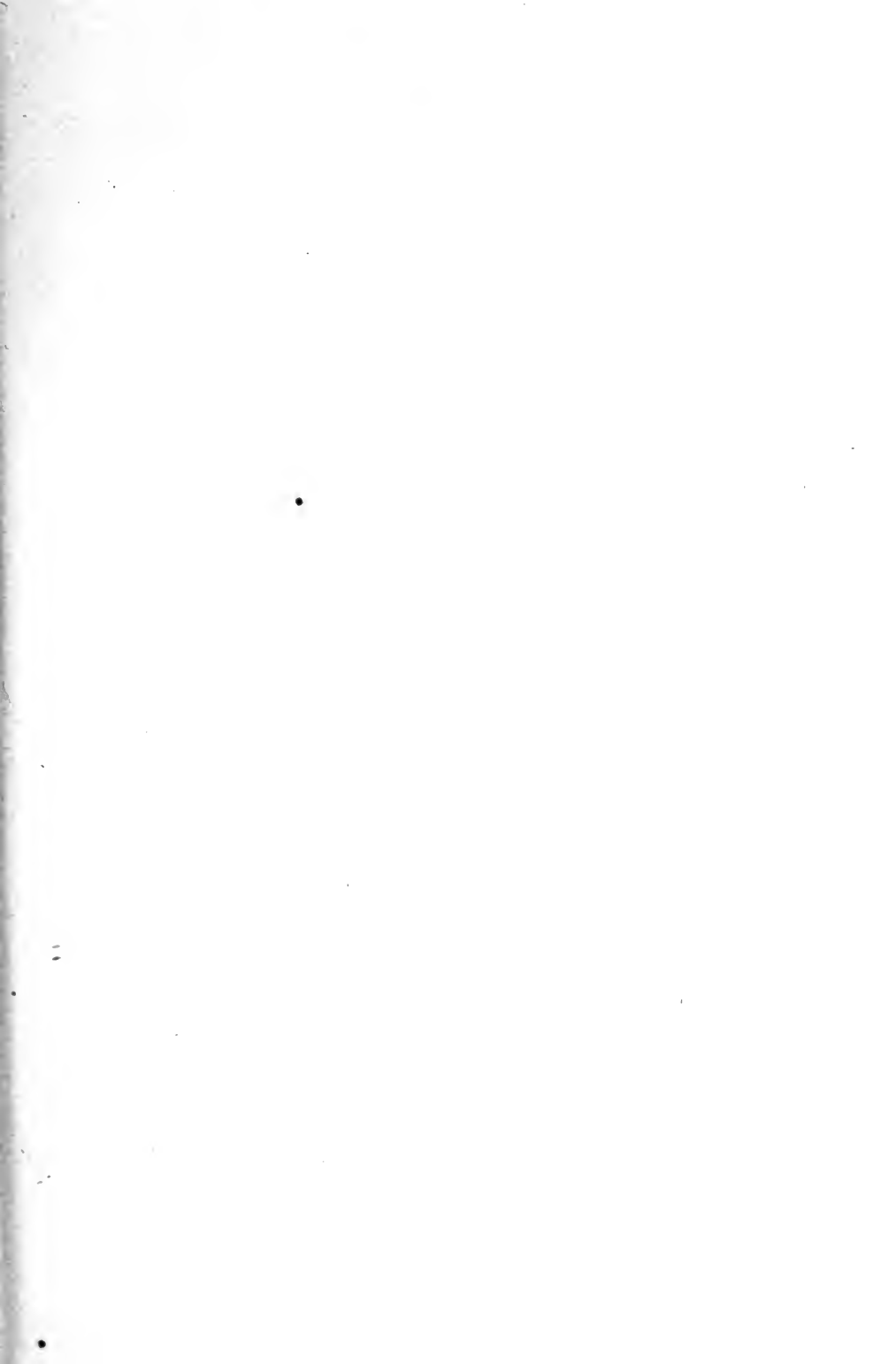
The ministers concealed themselves in a secret chamber which the builders had left unfinished by the side of the chimney. The room which is extremely narrow and deep, extends to the base of the chimney in the cellar, the entrance being made through a trap door in the floor of the room overhead. Although the house was searched repeatedly, and was surrounded for some time, the secret room remained undiscovered. At the end of a week, the fugitives made their escape by means of a subteranean passage which connected the cellar with the Creek 100 feet away.

The country surrounding Rye abounds with relics saved from the ruthless march of progress. The old tavern known as Haveland Inn where Washington, Lafayette and John Adams visited has been standing nearly 200 years. This tavern stands in the Village Square, it is a two story attic building, constructed with hand hewn shingles. The room where Washington and Lafayette slept is on the third floor, in it are still to be found the high walnut bedstead in which Washington rested while on his way to meet Rochambeau for their great campaign against the British and also the large mirror before which he dressed the next morning.

This tavern has recently been purchased by a resident of Rye and in all probability will be preserved as a local historical museum.

It is hard to realize now when the country is being rapidly changed by the erection of blocks of houses, that Westchester County was ever sufficiently wild to have been the scene of so many acts of savagry as are recorded in history, and it would be well to mark the spots of most interest before the encroaching city obliterates all the traces which now remain.

“Happy he whom neither wealth nor fashion
Nor the march of the encroaching City
Drives an exile
From the hearth of his ancestral homestead.”
“We may build more splendid habitations
Fill our rooms with painting and with sculpture
But we cannot
Buy with *gold* the old associations.”





ROBERT O. BASCOM

Born Nov. 18, 1855.

Died May 19, 1909.

ROBERT O. BASCOM.

By GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE.

I. Biographical Sketch.

Robert O. Bascom, student, lawyer, historian and archeologist, died at his home in Fort Edward, on the 19th day of May, 1909, aged fifty-three years. He was born in Orwell, Vermont, and traced his paternal ancestry through successive generations of sturdy New England stock to Thomas Bascom, a native of England, who emigrated to America in 1634, and settled in Windsor, Connecticut. His great, great grandfather, Ezekial Bascom, was a participant in the Colonial Wars, and his great grandfather, Elias Bascom, was a soldier of the Revolution.

After attending the High Schools of Brandon and Shoreham, Vermont, and laying broadly the foundations of an education, Mr. Bascom entered the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute, and graduated from that institution in 1876. He continued, for a time, at the Institute, winning an enviable reputation as a teacher. He became attracted, however, by the profession of law, and decided to devote his energies to its service.

He commenced and pursued his legal studies, with his characteristic enthusiasm, and was admitted to the Bar in 1883. Shortly afterwards he opened an office in Fort Edward, and entered upon the successful practice of his profession. From that time until his death, though doing much valuable work in other fields, he was first a lawyer, well grounded in the principles of the law, and apt in their interpretation and application.

In 1905, a vacancy occurred in the Office of District Attorney of Washington County, and Mr. Bascom was appointed to that position. His official work was so satisfactory that in the fall of that year he was elected for a term of three years. At its expiration he was re-elected and had just entered upon his second elec-

tive term when he was stricken with the malady which caused his death.

Mr. Bascom was a charter member and the President of the Adirondack Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, a member of the Fort Edward Lodge, F. and A. M.; the Fort Edward Club; the National Geographic Society; the Ticonderoga Historical Society; the Vermont Historical Society; the New York State Historical Association; the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and the New York State Bar Association. In this latter Association he performed much efficient work as a member of the Committee on Grievances, and of its sub-committee having in charge the inquiry against Mr. Justice Hooker, in 1904.

He had been a Trustee of the New York State Historical Association since its organization, and for seven years its Secretary. In 1901 he prepared a valuable monograph for the Annual Meeting of the Association, which it afterward printed. He attended to the publication of six volumes of the Proceedings of the Association, a labor of no small magnitude to a man busily engrossed in the active duties of an exacting profession. He assumed the task, however, cheerfully, and performed it faithfully, as the volumes issued under his direction, testify. In his work he was accurate, thorough and painstaking. The State Historical Association is greatly indebted to him for his unselfish and untiring labors in its behalf, and his death is a serious loss.

After he made choice of his profession, Mr. Bascom was first of all a lawyer, but he remained always a student, an investigator along many lines, social, bibliographical, philosophical, political, antiquarian and historical. In no field was he more at home than that of historical research, and to it he devoted much time and thought. Indeed, the quest for historical lore seemed to be one of his recreations.

He had published much, and he had gathered much more. He was constantly in search of historical material. He had reached the meridian of life, his professional standing was established, he was enjoying the rewards of accomplished attainment and he was looking forward to the calm years of the sunset slope,—the

stress and strain of life relaxed, when he could devote himself more and more to congenial tasks, outside the work and weariness of his profession. Could he have done this, the sum of human knowledge would have been much increased, and the world correspondingly benefitted. But it was not to be.

When such a life is closed we should pause and give credit. Its memory should not be allowed to vanish from the minds of men. When a man is found, in these days of greed and commercialism, firm rooted, and eager to give of his best in thought and deed, for the benefit of his fellowmen, his work and worth should be duly recognized and accredited.

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- "Mexico."
- "Havana."
- "The Green Mountain Boys."
- "William McKinley."
- "Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots."
- "Vermont."
- "The Tartar Invasion."
- "President Garfield."
- "The Land of Chaldeans."



THE TICONDEROGA EXPEDITION OF 1775

LIST OF MEN WITH ETHAN ALLEN

By the late Robert O. Bascom.

ANECDOTES AND DATA ABOUT ALLEN

By the late Robert O. Bascom.

With Emendatory Notes by James Austin Holden.

ADDITIONS TO BASCOM'S ALLEN'S MEN,

Anecdotes and Data regarding Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga Expedition

By James Austin Holden.

SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

About the Ticonderoga Expedition—and Who Took Fort George

By James Austin Holden.

THE MEN WITH ETHAN ALLEN AT THE CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA.

May 10th, 1775.

By the Late ROBERT O. BASCOM, Secretary of the Association.
With Additions and Emendatory Notes* by JAMES A. HOLDEN.

Fort Edward, N. Y., Aug. 25, 1906.

It is now some years since the effort was first made to collect the names of the Green Mountain Boys, with their associates from Massachusetts and Connecticut, who were present at the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen on May 10th, 1775. With each successive publication the list has slowly grown until as will be seen it now includes, as I believe, 53 of the original 83 that actually entered the fort with Allen. It is possible that the remaining 30 names are to be found among the men who accompanied the expedition from Connecticut and Massachusetts.

During the time that has elapsed since this effort to restore the roster was commenced, many names have come to my notice of men who were engaged in some capacity in the expedition. Some of them went to Skenesborough; some went to Albany; some remained on the Vermont side at Hand's Cove and went the next day to Crown Point. These names I have preserved and as has often been the case the information in relation to them has been accompanied with some few items of personal history, and sometimes there has been a little crumb of new historic information, all of which I have endeavored to treasure up.

It is said that after Colonel Herrick's party had gone to Skenesborough, 140 men remained at Castleton. In the list which I send you with this, are the names of 96 men that I believe took part in some capacity in the expedition against Ticonderoga and

*All additional or edited matter in brackets. [].

Crown Point and Skenesborough. There are yet a good many names to be added before the list shall be complete, but it is not altogether improbable or impossible but that many additions may yet be made to the roll.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary of the New York Historical Association,

THE LIST.

(In the following list those marked thus (*) are believed to belong to the 83 immortals who entered the fort with Allen—53 names. Those marked thus (x) have a military record in the Vermont Revolutionary rolls, 50 in number.)

x* Col. Ethan Allen stands at the head of this list. He was in command of the expedition, marched into the fort at the head of the center file of men and demanded and received the surrender of the fort in the name of the "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" as he said, but it will be observed that some attribute the use of different language to him on that occasion. His life and public services are so well known that it seems unnecessary here to give further details thereof.

x Ira Allen, brother of Ethan, was paid by Connecticut for services in connection with this expedition, but so far it does not appear what those services were. (See Conn. Men in the Revolution.) Hiland Hall's Vermont, pp. 454-455. J. A. H.]

x Heman Allen, brother of Ethan, was with the party at Bennington. (Chittenden, page 33.) [Hiland Hall's Vermont page 454. J. A. H.]

x Levi Allen, brother of Ethan, was one of the Connecticut party and was with the expedition at Norfolk and also at Bennington. (Connecticut Historical Collections, Vol. I, page 167. Chittenden, page 33).

x* Ebenezer Andrews [of Mount Holly,] is said to have been present at the capture. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society, 1903-4, page 98.)

* John Alexander of Brattleborough is said to have been present at the capture. (Id. page 98.)

x* Ebenezer Allen of Poultney, Vt., said to have been a relative of Ethan and to have been with him at Ticonderoga, was one of the first settlers of Poultney, born in Northampton, Mass., October 17, 1743; married, 1762, Miss Richards. Moved to Bennington 1768. Lieutenant in Warner's regiment, 1775, afterwards resided at Tinmouth. Delegate to several of the Vermont Conventions; Captain in Herrick's Regiment of Rangers; died in Burlington, March 26th, 1806. (Men of Vermont, page 53.) [See also Hiland Hall's History of Vermont, page 451. J. A. H.]

* Benedict Arnold entered the fort by the side of Allen. [Some authorities say ahead of Allen. J. A. H.]

x* Thomas Ashley of Poultney, Vt., was one of seven brothers who came to that town and were among its first settlers. His brother Elijah said that Thomas was the next man to Allen that entered the Fort at Old Ticonderoga. He stood as sentinel at the head of the stairs when Allen entered the room of the commander and demanded the surrender of the fort. He was twice married, his second wife being the widow of Zebediah Dewey. (History of Poultney, page 29.) [See also Journal of Am. His. for 1909, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 602-03, for silhouette and sketch J. A. H.]

x* Samuel Barnet was a Scotchman. The town of Barnet, Vt., takes its name from this family. John Kennedy, who was at the capture, the brother-in-law of Barnet, was with him when they marched into the fort by the side of Ethan Allen. (Statement of Geo. Kennedy, Burlington, Vermont.) [He was afterwards Lt. Col. in Sheldon's Light Horse. Conn. His. Soc'y. Col. Vol. I. page 167. J. A. H.]

Samuel Blagden of Salisbury, Conn., was with the party at Castleton and went to Whitehall. (Gordon's American Revolution, pp. 11-12.)

x* Gershom Beach of Salisbury, Vt., is said to have been present. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society 1903-4, page 98.)

* Ozias Bissell is said to have been present at the capture. (Empire State S. A. R., Reg. p. 381.)

Thomas Barber, 3rd, was with the party at Norfolk, Conn. (Conn. Historical Collections, Vol. I, page 167.)

* Col. John Brown of Pittsfield, entered the fort with Allen. A graduate of Yale College. King's attorney at Johnstown, N. Y., and acquainted with Sir John Johnson. Moved to Pittsfield, Mass., 1773, held various military offices, killed October 19, 1780, in the 36th year of his age. He is said to have been engaged in the capture. (Conn. Men in Revolution Field's Berkshire, page 59. Chittenden, page 110.) [See Smith's History of Pittsfield, Mass.; J. G. Holland's History Western Massachusetts, and History Berkshire County, Mass., for fuller details regarding Brown. J. A. H.]

Epaphras Bull of Hartford, Conn., was one of the war committee under whose direction the expedition proceeded. (Conn. Men in Revolution. Chittenden, page 103.)

x* Nathan Beman, who was Allen's guide into the fort, in 1835 wrote as follows: "I was over 18 years old and resided with my father, Samuel Beman, in the town of Shoreham, Vt., nearly opposite the fort. I had been in the habit of visiting the fort very frequently, being well acquainted with Captain Delaplace's family and other young people residing there. On the day preceding the capture my father and mother dined by invitation with Captain Delaplace. I was with the party and spent the day in and about the fort. On our return to Shoreham in the evening and just as we were landing we discovered troops approaching who we soon ascertained to be Allen and his party. To my father, with whom he had been long acquainted, Allen stated his object, and the proper measures were at once concerted for at once accomplishing it." (The Malone Palladium, May 28th, 1835.) [Beman's reputation for veracity suffered greatly at the hands of later historians. J. A. H.]

Judge Samuel A. Beman of Malone, N. Y., is a lineal descendant of Nathan Beman. The judge adds a little family tradition: "Delaplace, upon seeing Nathan with Colonel Allen, exclaimed, 'What, you here, Nathan, and am I your prisoner?' In response

to the inquiry Nathan replied, 'Not mine, but Colonel Allen's.' '' Nathan Beman afterwards served in Colonel Seth Warner's regiment, was with Montgomery at Montreal and Quebec; and his father, Samuel, served in Benedict Arnold's regiment in the same campaign.

Samuel Beman, the father, lived at Shoreham upon the farm owned by the late Judge Myron Platt, into which Hand's Cove projects from Lake Champlain. It was from this cove that Allen and his party embarked for the capture of Fort Ti. In ancient days a little rivulet ran through this farm westerly toward Lake Champlain, cutting through clay banks of the lake making a deep and broad hollow in places a quarter or half a mile in width. It is a marsh filled with a tangled growth of wild grasses and rushes. The stream has almost disappeared although it was once sufficient to turn a sawmill. When the woods covered the hills the locality would form a convenient place where a considerable body of men might gather without danger of being observed from the opposite side of the lake. The mouth of the cove is probably two and one-half or three miles distant from the point upon Lake Champlain where Allen and his party landed on the New York shore. The Hand's Cove Chapter of the D. A. R. take their name from this historic spot and the patriotic ladies of this Chapter have erected a marker on the farm formerly owned by Samuel Beman to designate the spot where Allen and his party embarked upon their immortal voyage.

Nathan Beman married Jemima, daughter of John and Susanne Roberts of Manchester, Vt. Nathan appears in Manchester not long after the capture of Fort Ti. and probably returned to that place with the expedition. He and his wife left Manchester before 1800 and went to Ferrisburgh, Vt., removing thence to Plattsburgh, N. Y., where he became one of the first settlers of Chateaugay, N. Y.

In the family of Nathan's wife the tradition obtains that Nathan was a playmate of the son of Captain Delaplace and that the captain's wife had been very kind to Nathan, and Nathan before undertaking to act as a guide for Allen, stipulated that no harm should come to either the boy or his mother. From this

same source the information is obtained that Samuel Beman, the father, and his brother, Abner, were scouts in the employ of Washington. (Statement of E. G. Tuttle, Manchester, Vt.)

x* Major Samuel Beach of Whiting, Vt., was born in New Jersey, his parents removing to Virginia and finally to Vermont prior to the Revolution. He was at Castleton with Allen and was sent to rally the Green Mountain Boys. He started on this mission at day-break, going from Castleton to Rutland, to Pittsford, Brandon, Leicester, Salisbury, Middlebury, Cornwall, Whiting and Shoreham, a distance of 64 miles. Smith in his history says this was accomplished "between the rising and the setting of the sun." Others say that the time occupied was 24 hours. Perhaps the expression "between the rising and the setting of the sun" may be considered a figurative one. Smith says, "The following day at early dawn he entered the fort by the side of Allen." His descendants still treasure the silk stockings worn by him on this march and the staff which he carried, and they likewise preserved a silk vest presented him by Washington, which has the general's profile woven in the silk in over 30 different places. He served throughout the revolution as a recruiting officer and in later years received a pension. Two daughters survive him. The monument marking his grave at Whiting village bears this inscription: "Major Samuel Beach, died April 10th, 1829, aged 77 years. An officer in the war of the Revolution and one of the few who under Allen surprised and took Ticonderoga. (Smith's History of Addison County, page 728. Statement E. N. Bissell, East Shoreham, Vt.)

x* Isaac Buck, supposed to have been born in New Milford, Conn., about 1735, married Elizabeth Waters; settled in Pittsford, Vt., about 1770; removed to Addison, Vt.; died in Madrid, N. Y.; entered the fort with Allen. (History of Pittsford, page 100.)

Simeon Belding of Hartford, Conn., was with the expedition.

Elijah Babcock was one of the four men from Hartford that accompanied the expedition. He was not present at the capture. (Chittenden, page 103.)

Col. John Biglow, Hartford, Conn., accompanied the expedition. He went to Skenesborough with Colonel Herrick. (Chittenden, page 103. Gordon's American Revolution, pp. 11-13.)

* Amos Callender, born September 13, 1744, at Sheffield, Mass., a son of John and Mary Smith Callender. Married Johanna Dewey, daughter of Captain Stephen Dewey. An early settler at Shoreham, Vt. The second meeting of the proprietors of that town was held at his house, 1783. He must have been near Allen and Arnold as they entered the fort for when the controversy arose between Allen and Arnold as to who should lead the men, each declaring he would go into the fort first, Allen turned to Amos and said: "What shall I do with the damned rascal? shall I put him under guard?" Callender suggested that they enter the fort together. After the capture he was sent in command of a small party to take the fort at the head of Lake George and was afterwards sent with the prisoners to Hartford, Conn. (History of Shoreham, page 12. Statement of W. T. Dewey, Montpelier, Vt.) [Neither tradition nor history bear out the contention that Callender took Fort George. Col. Romans made the capture. DeCosta's Narrative of Events at Lake George, page 73. Holden's Queensbury, pp. 395-404. J. A. H.]

* Major Noah Callender was with his father, Amos Callender, and near enough to Allen as the latter entered the fort so that when the sentinel snapped his fuzee at Allen the latter struck a blow at the soldier's head which would have inflicted a wound thereon probably sufficient to have killed him if the force of the blow had not been broken by a comb with which the soldier's hair was done up. (History of Shoreham, page 16.)

x* Col. John Chipman of Middlebury, Vt., the librarian of the Sheldon Art Museum at Middlebury, Vermont, says,—that Col. Chipman wrote: "I turned out at the commencement of the war as a volunteer with Col. Allen in the spring of 1775 to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Was at the taking of St. John's and Montreal. Was in the battle of Hubbardton, also in the battle of Bennington and at Saratoga at the taking of Burgoyne." Prof. Kellogg in a sketch of the life of Col. Chipman written in 1866 says that Col. Chipman was present as a volunteer when Allen

seized the keys to Ticonderoga. (Henry L. Sheldon, Middlebury, Vermont.) [Col. Chipman was in command of Fort George (Town of Caldwell, N. Y.), in 1780, and forced to surrender to Major Christopher Carleton Oct. 11, 1780. See DeCosta's Lake George. Holden's History Queensbury. Hough's Northern Invasion. J. A. H.]

x Col. Robert Cochran of Rupert, Vermont, was one of the captains in the Ticonderoga expedition and went with Warner to the capture of Crown Point the next day. He died at Sandy Hill, N. Y., July 3rd, 1812, and is buried in the Union cemetery at Fort Edward, N. Y. (Men of Vermont, page 52.) [Two Mss. orderly books belonging to Col. Cochran are in my possession, and his certificate of membership in the Order of the Cincinnati is in the A. W. Holden Collection at the Glens Falls Academy. It is signed by George Washington and Henry Knox. J. A. H.]

x* Col. Benjamin Cooley, born April 30, 1747, married in 1773 Ruth Beach, was one of the first settlers in the town of Pittsford, Vermont. Came from Greenwich, Mass. He and Isaac Buck, Jr., John Deming, Hopkins Rowley and Ephraim Stevens all of Pittsford, were among the men that responded to the call of Major Samuel Beach when he made the celebrated march rallying the Green Mountain boys. Caverly in his history of Pittsford says that these five men were among the first to cross the lake, to enter the covered passage, and to parade upon the square within the fort. This claim is sufficiently explicit to entitle all of these five men to a place among the immortal eighty-three. Cooley died February 27, 1810. There are many descendants in Vermont and throughout the West. It is said that Cooley got the word from Beach himself and notified the other four. (History of Pittsford, page 100. Statement of W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt.)

* John Crigo of Shoreham, Vermont, was one of the first settlers of that town where he lived 1766. He entered the Fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

* Amariah Dana, son of Samuel Dana, married Dorothy May and resided in Pomfret, Conn., until about 1771, when he removed with his family to Amherst, Mass. He was born 1738,

died 1830, the father of sixteen children. It is a matter of family tradition that he was one of Allen's party at the capture of Fort Ti. This tradition is somewhat strengthened by the obituary notice of one of his daughters, in which notice her father is mentioned as one of those who were with Ethan Allen at the capture of Fort Ti. There are descendants in Vermont and Pennsylvania. (Statement of S. W. Dana, New Castle, Pa. Statement Mrs. C. H. Lane, Middlebury, Vermont.)

Captain Asa Douglas of Jericho, Mass., accompanied the expedition and seems to be the man who went to Panton, Vermont, to secure boats for the expedition across Lake Champlain. It is said that he has relatives living in that town.

* Captain Israel Dickinson of Pittsfield, Mass., accompanied the expedition and it would seem from Col. Easton's report that he was present at the capture. (History of Pittsfield, Mass., p. 222.) He is said to have been "engaged in the capture." (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

* Matthew Dunning of South Williamstown, Mass., was present at the capture. (Mass. Soldier's & Sailors' of the Revolution.)

* John Deming of Pittsford, Vermont, is said to have been formerly from Conn., and there is a tradition that he was an Indian trader and fighter. He was one of the Pittsford party and entered the fort. No further information. (History of Pittsford, p. 100.)

x Josiah Dunning, born in Newtown, Conn., October 7, 1775, removed to Pownal, Vermont, afterwards to Williamson, New York. In 1775 while living at Pownal he enlisted in a volunteer company for the capture of Fort Ti, under Captain Samuel Wright. The company marched to Castleton. Dunning was one of the party that went to Skenesborough, now Whitehall, and after the capture of that place they sailed in a schooner down the lake, arriving at Ticonderoga the morning after the surrender. He witnessed a dispute between Col. Allen and Col. Arnold relative to which one of them was entitled to the command. Both drew their swords and the men under their commands had raised and cocked

their muskets when a private named Edward Richards stepped forward and with great firmness commanded both officers to put up their swords and called on the soldiers of both parties to arrest them if they did not desist. This ended the dispute. Dunning was afterwards captain of a company and was engaged in the battle of Bennington and also at Saratoga. (Pension Record Josiah Dunning.)

x* Lieut. Benjamin Everest came with his father to Addison, Vermont, about 1768. He was with Allen at the capture of Fort Ti. and went with Warner to the capture of Crown Point. He participated in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington and for his bravery received the thanks of Warner. His tombstone says he was born at Salisbury, Conn., January 12th, 1752, died March 3rd, 1843. The same authority speaks of him as "the Christian, the philanthropist, the Revolutionary hero and the patriot." Smith's History Addison County, p. 369.) [Lieut. Everest was the grandfather of Charles F. Everest of Glens Falls. Lieut. Everest had several narrow escapes from the Indians once jumping overboard, after being captured by them, although it was November, and swimming a long distance in Lake Champlain. Upon another occasion he skated away on the ice, from a party of Indians who had surrounded him. Vermont Historical Magazine, pp. 10-11-12. J. A. H.]

* Col. James Easton, Pittsfield, Mass., was second in command and entered the fort with Allen. The second sentinel encountered by the storming party as they entered the fort made a thrust at Col. Easton when Allen struck the sentinel on the head with his sword. Col. Mott in his report says that Col. Easton was of great service both in counsel and government. (History of Pittsfield, pp. 218-221. Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

x* Dr. Jonas Fay of Bennington seems to have accompanied the expedition in capacity of surgeon and was among those who received pay for their services on this expedition. (Conn. Men in the Revolution. Men of Vermont, p. 51.) [See Dawson's Hist. Mag. 2nd series, Vol. I, page 109, letter of Allen about Fay's services. J. A. H.]

x Josiah Fuller of Bennington, Vermont, "Surgeon's Mate" was paid by the State of Connecticut for his services on this expedition. (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

George Foote of Castleton, Vermont, afterwards of Bennington, was one of the pioneers of Vermont and one of the party of Green Mountain boys to apply the "beach seal" to the settlement of Yorkers at Vergennes. He stood by the side of Allen on the 10th of May when the demand for the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga was made. A correspondent says that he has seen a letter from a brother of George Foote in which the brother says that George was the third man from Ethan Allen when they went into the fort. (Foote Genealogy. G. G. Benedict, Burlington, Vermont.)

Ezra Heacock, Sheffield, Conn., accompanied the expedition and went with Noah Phelps at the time the latter entered the fort as a spy. (Chittenden's Ticonderoga, page 104. Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

x Col. Samuel Herrick was with the expedition at Castleton and was sent from there to Skenesborough in command of the expedition directed against the establishment at that place. (Men of Vermont, p. 49.)

Elias Herrick of Hartford was one of the Connecticut party.

[Lieut.] Jeremiah Halsey of Preston, Conn., accompanied the expedition and went to Albany—probably to buy provisions. (Chittenden's Ticonderoga, p. 103.) [See also Journal of Capt. Mott, page 169. Conn. Hist. Col., Vol. I. J. A. H.]

* Israel Harris, born February, 1747, Cornwall, Conn., married Sarah Morris, resided at Williamstown, Mass., 1775. Moved to Rutland, Vermont, 1782, thence to South Hartford, N. Y., where he died November 28, 1836. He entered the service in May, 1775, and volunteered to march with a company under Col. Allen against the fortress of Ticonderoga. He marched from Williamstown to Castleton, Vermont, thence to Ticonderoga and entered the fortress on the morning of May 10. In a few days he returned to Williamstown. Family tradition says that he entered the fort just behind Allen. He was present at the surrender of St. Johns

in December, 1775, and participated in another expedition in July to Fort Anne. Was engaged in the battle of Bennington and was granted a captain's pension by the United States. The Israel Harris Chapter, D. A. R., of Granville, N. Y., takes its name from this member of the Spartan band. Among the descendants of this family the tradition is strong and often repeated that Allen's first salutation to Delaplace was "Come out of that hole, you damned old rat," and the statement is also often repeated that Harris himself said that he was directly behind Allen when they entered the fort. (Pension Office Records. Statement of Jos. Northrup, St. Albans, Vt.; of Arthur Harris Smythe, Columbus, Ohio; and of James D. Butler, Madison, Wis., "Butlerania," page 99.)

* Nehemiah Hoit of Castleton, Vermont, was the third man to enter the fortress after Ethan Allen. (Hemenway's Gazetteer, Vol. 3, page 506.)

Gershom Hewitt of Hartford, Conn., was with the party at Castleton and went to Albany with Capt. Stevens to buy provisions. (Chittenden, page 104.)

x* Thomas Johnston, of Newbury, Vt., is said to have been present at the capture. (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, 1903-4, page 98.)

* Noah Jones of Shoreham, Vermont, is said to have been present at the capture. (Id.)

x* John Kennedy, Sr., in his lifetime said that he marched into Fort Ti by the side of Ethan Allen and heard him when he demanded the surrender of the fort. He also said that Samuel Barnet, his brother-in-law, was with him at the time. John Kennedy, Sr., was one of the first settlers of the town of Bolton, Vermont. A descendent of John Kennedy states that Kennedy's share of the prize money at the capture of Fort Ti amounted to \$80. Kennedy was a quartermaster in the expedition and was at the taking of Crown Point the next day. He died of fever in the service of his country and was buried at Mt. Independence, Orwell, Vermont. (Statement of George W. Kennedy, Burlington, Vt., and of Sarah Kennedy Lord, Burlington, Vt.)

* John Kennedy, Jr., son of the preceding, is said to have acted as Allen's aid and to have entered the fort with Allen. He

was accustomed to tell his children how the commander of the fortress came to the door "with his breeches in his hand" and how he "never forgot the look of his pale face and naked legs." (Statement of Sarah Kennedy Lord, Burlington, Vt.)

Samuel Keep of Salisbury, Conn., was one of the original grantees of Salisbury, Vermont. He settled at Crown Point about 1773 and it is said that he was one of Allen's advisors in taking the fort. Whether he was present at the capture does not appear. He died in Brandon, 1802, aged 71. (Smith's History of Addison County.)

* Elijah Kellogg was one of the early settlers of Shoreham, Vermont, 1766. Is said to have been the first man to enter the fort after Allen and Arnold. He was taken prisoner in 1777 in an engagement near Castleton and subsequently made his escape. Smith's History of Addison County, page 612. History of Shoreham, page 12.) [Hemingway's Vt. Historical Mag. (Addison) page 94, calls this man "Elias." J. A. H.]

x* Samuel Laughton of Dummerston is said to have been present at the capture. (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, 1903-4, page 98.)

x* Matthew Lyon said he was present at the capture. I am indebted to a gentleman in New York city for the following information: The biography of Matthew Lyon quotes from Annals of the 10th Congress, second session, page 1416, a speech made by Lyon, February 7, 1809, in which he says: "I was a private soldier in one of those companies called minute men who first took up arms in defence of the cause of American liberty and with my gun on my shoulder marched to take Ticonderoga under the command of Ethan Allen." (Pages 113 & 115.) Again at page 498, in a letter written in 1817 Lyon says, "immediately after the Lexington battle I joined Ethan Allen. Eighty-five of us took from 140 British veterans the Fort Ticonderoga," etc. This statement of Matthew Lyon that there were eighty-five present differs from the commonly accepted number of eighty-three as stated by Allen himself, but perhaps Allen did not include himself or Arnold in the statement that he took the fort with eighty-three men. The

subsequent statement of Lyon that there were 140 British veterans would indicate that he was not very accurate in his statement of numbers, however, this may be, the declaration seems to be clear and unequivocal that he was present at the capture.

x* Josiah Lewis of Poultney, Vt., came from Connecticut to that place in 1771. He was present at the capture of Ticonderoga and was in the battle of Hubbardton. He married Mollie Cole in Connecticut. It is said that she rendered important service for the patriots in carrying news, etc., and was paid the same as the soldiers were and that she also received a grant of land of 160 acres in recognition of her services to the Continental army. (History of Poultney, page 299.)

* Captain Lusk.—Governor Trumbull wrote Schuyler March 1st, 1776, that Captain Lusk was “at the first taking of Ticonderoga.”

Ensign Lewis was one of the men who was paid for his services on this expedition by the State of Connecticut. (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

Captain Noah Lee was with Allen's party at Castleton. From there he was sent with the command that captured Skenesborough. He entered the service when he was but fifteen years of age and saw the surrender of Cornwallis, after which he returned to Castleton, where he died. A monument has been erected in his honor at Castleton by his grandson. (Granville, N. Y., Sentinel, 1903. Chittenden, page 12.)

Capt. Edward Mott of Preston, Conn., was chairman of the war committee that had charge of the expedition for the capture of Ticonderoga. He did not enter the fort. (Chittenden, page 105.)

* Major Amos Morrill.—The authority for placing his name in the roll is derived from the statement in the family Bible, formerly in the possession of the late Jeremiah S. Morrill of St. Albans, Vt., who was a grandson of Major Amos Morrill. This statement reads as follows: “Old Major Amos Morrill, who came from New Hampshire, enlisted for the Revolution and served all through the war of eight years. One of the first companies raised was

brought together at Epsom, N. H. He then enlisted as lieutenant. At Bunker Hill the captain was killed and then he was made captain. He was with Ethan Allen at the taking of Ticonderoga and was one of the eight men to go into the enemies' camp at night. Major Morris died 1810, at St. Albans, Vt." The reference to the eight men going into the enemies' camp at night is not understood by the writer and whether it relates to Ticonderoga is perhaps uncertain. Major Morrill came to Vermont from Epsom, N. H., 1795. When the family Bible says he was present at the taking we are bound to believe that he was one of the immortal eight-three. (Statement of Abbie A. Morrill, North Troy, Vt.) [See also Vermont Historical Proceedings, 1903-04, page 98. Quere—Could the eight men going to the enemies' camp at night have any connection with the legend given further on, that a party of patriots made the English soldiers tipsy? J. A. H.]

William Nichols of Hartford, Conn., was clerk of the war committee. Went to Whitehall. He appears to have kept Romans' accounts of the disbursements on this expedition and there is an entry which shows that Heman Allen was paid one pound for sundries. (Gordon's American Revolution, page 11-13. Chittenden, page 103, DeCosta's Notes on the History of Lake George.)

x Luke Noble of Rupert, Vermont, is said to have been with the expedition. This statement rests entirely upon family tradition. If present he could not have been more than fourteen years of age. He was born February 24, 1761, at Southwick, Mass., and died 1848, at Rupert, Vt. (Statement of Jennie F. Stewart, Rensselaer, N. Y.)

* Daniel Newton of Shoreham, Vermont, was an early settler in that town. As Allen's party were on their way to Hand's Cove they found him chopping. He set his axe at the side of the tree and joined the party. He died in 1834, aged 80 years. A surveyor by profession and is said to have been the original from which the character of Pete Jones in the "Green Mountain Boys" was taken. It is said that Judge D. P. Thompson, the author of the "Green Mountain Boys," made this selection at the suggestion of Governor Jennison of Shoreham, Vt., who was a near neighbor of Daniel Newton. (History of Shoreham, pp. 11, 17, 19; Statement of Elmer Barnum, Shoreham, Vt.)

Capt. Noah Phelps of Simsbury, Conn., was one of the war committee. He was the spy who entered the fort disguised as a farmer in search of a barber. He successfully entered the fort and made himself familiar with the garrison and reported to Allen that it was practicable to surprise the fortress. From the fact that Allen when he reached Hand's Cove secured the service of Nathan Beman as a guide the inference is that Phelps did not regard it as prudent to accompany Allen's party. He was born May 6, 1759, and died unmarried in the American army at Valley Forge. (Force's Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. 2, page 556. History of Shoreham, page 12.)

Capt. Elisha Phelps of Simsbury, Conn., was a brother of Noah and was commissary of the party that went to Whitehall. (Chittenden, page 112.)

Capt. Samuel H. Parsons of Deerfield, Mass., was one of the expedition. (Conn. Historical Society, Vol. 1, page 181.)

* ———Rice is said to have been present at the capture. Lossing in his field book of the Revolution speaks of Isaac Rice who served as his guide at Fort Ti, and it would appear that Isaac had a brother whose first name is not mentioned, who was present with Allen at the time of the surrender. [In the N. E. Mag. for April, 1901, page 127, is a picture of the broken headstone of Isaac Rice who was buried in the old Fort cemetery in 1852. J. A. H.]

* Eli Robards of Vergennes, Vt., is said to have been one of the expedition and to have crossed in the same boat with Allen. If this be true he was one of the eighty-three. I have found no other authority than family tradition for this statement. (Statement of C. D. Waite, 702 St. Nicholas Avenue, N. Y. City.)

x* Thomas Rowley of Shoreham, Vt., was one of Allen's party. An early settler of that town. He came originally from Hebron, Conn. He was the first town clerk of Danby, Vt., and represented that town in the legislature and was chairman of the Committee of Safety. He was one of the judges of Rutland County, Vt. Settled in Larrabee's Point in the town of Shoreham, which place was for some years called Rowley's Point. He died at

Cold Spring in the town of Benson, Vermont, 1803. Was present at the capture. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

x* Thomas Rowley, Jr., son of the above lived for sometime in Shoreham; left that place in 1814 and moved to Buffalo, N. Y., where he died. He entered the fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 162.)

x* Hopkins Rowley of Pittsford was a son of Jonathan Rowley and removed to Shoreham, Vt. He was one of the Pittsford party and is said to have crossed the lake with the first detachment. (History of Shoreham, page 12. Statements of G. W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt., and Mary T. Randall, Pittsford, Vt.)

x John Roberts of Manchester, Vermont, was born 1727; married, 1745, Susanna Mayhew, a lineal descendent of Gov. Thomas Mayhew of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. He came to Manchester in 1764 with the first settlers, bringing his wife and seven children; Peter, born 1747; Benjamin, born 1749; John, born 1751; Christopher, born 1753; Jemima, born 1755; Elizabeth, born 1757, and William, born 1759. The father and all of his sons were identified with the Green Mountain Boys and with Allen and Arnold in the early troubles with the Yorkers and the family tradition is strong that the father and his five sons participated in the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In some former list all of these six names have been found among the eighty-three and it is with reluctance that any change is made in this list. It is altogether probable that all of them participated in the expedition and of Christopher it seems to be so well established that he was at the capture that his name must remain in the list. However, it seems as if, if the father and the five sons had been present at the capture, that Judge Munson in his history of Manchester would have mentioned the fact, whereas he only makes mention of Christopher as being one of the guides of the expedition and as one of the first to enter the fort. John Roberts, the father, was undoubtedly present on the expedition and afterwards went to Canada, was taken prisoner and after his return enlisted "for the whole war." He died 1798.

x Peter Roberts married Jane Baker, 1768, and lived at Dorset, Vermont. He engaged in the expedition against Ticonderoga

and Crown Point, raised a company of men and went to Canada under Warner in 1775, and was in the military service of his country until 1782. He participated in the battles of Hubbardton, Bennington and Saratoga and afterwards removed to Plattsburgh.

x Benjamin Roberts married Annice, daughter of Eliakin Weller. He was one of the Green Mountain Boys and participated in the expedition against Ticonderoga. Was in the expedition against Canada and in the engagement at Hubbardton and Bennington. Subsequently removed to Plattsburg, N. Y., and afterwards to Chateaugay.

x John Roberts married Edna Hilliard of Manchester, Vt. Was engaged in the expedition against Canada. Was in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington. Removed to Salmon River, N. Y. A daughter of his married Capt. Smith Mead. Their daughter married Roswell Weed, the ancestor of Smith M. Weed of Plattsburg, the eminent Democratic statesman.

x* Gen. Christopher Roberts married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Purdy. By this marriage Christopher was a brother-in-law of Peleg Sutherland, the eminent Vermont partisan. Christopher is said to have been the third man to enter Fort Ti, with Allen. The fact that the claim for this position is made by so many different men does not suggest that any of the claims are fictitious but rather that the men speak of a different period as the time when Allen entered the fort. Christopher was engaged in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington; was in command of a company detailed to take the women and children to Massachusetts for safety. He held many town and county offices; was a prominent mason and received his first degree with other Green Mountain Boys from Seth Warner under a dispensation from a lodge in Connecticut. He died 1832. Judge Munson says that Christopher was one of Allen's guides and was one of the first to enter the fort.

x William Roberts married Rachel Andrus and was with his brothers in the expedition against Ticonderoga; was engaged in the battles at Hubbardton and Bennington; lived in Dorset, Vermont. This family was known as the "Fighting Roberts Family," and considering the remarkable military record of the father and the five sons it is not surprising that they came to be thus designated.

(Munson's History of Manchester, page 21. Statement of E. G. Tuttle, Manchester Center, Vt.)

Bernard Romans of Hartford, Conn., seems to have been entrusted with important responsibility in the beginning of the expedition. He appears to have become dissatisfied and while he took part to some extent in the expedition he was not present at the capture and does not seem to have operated in harmony with the other men. He was born in Holland and died about 1783. At Bennington May 3rd, 1775, he paid Elisha Phelps 60 pounds for use of the colony of Connecticut. (DeCosta's notes on the History of Fort George.) [He was also the captor of Fort George. J. A. H.]

x Edward Richards.—From the statement contained in the application for the pension of Josiah Dunning he appears to have been present the day after the capture of Ticonderoga, but whether he was one of the eighty-three or not is not known. (Pension Office Records of Josiah Dunning.)

x Capt. John Stevens seems to have been one of the party and it is said that he went to Albany possibly to buy provisions and was probably with the party at Castleton. (Chittenden, page 103.) [See also Conn. Hist. Collections, Vol. I, page 169.]

x Peleg Sunderland went with Seth Warner to the capture of Crown Point and must have been present at Hand's Cove, but whether he was present at the capture of Ticonderoga is uncertain. (Robinson's Vermont, page 111, Chittenden, page 109.)

x* Stephen Smith of Manchester, Vt., entered the fort with Allen. Removed to Shoreham 1784. He is sometimes called Capt. Stephen Smith. He was one of the four brothers who settled early in Shoreham and from whom the beautiful and picturesque Smith Street takes its name. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

x* Nathan Smith, Jr., son of Nathan, brother of Stephen above mentioned, came to Shoreham about 1786. Was present at the capture of Ticonderoga. His father, Major Nathan Smith, was in the battle of Bennington and was one of the first two to scale the breastworks of the British. (History of Shoreham, page 23.)

x John Stevens of Canaan, Conn., was one of the party from that State.

x* Ephraim Stevens of Pittsford, Vermont, a son of Roger Stevens and Mary Doolittle, sister of Col. Doolittle of Shoreham, was a brother of Roger Stevens, the celebrated tory. Was one of the five who went from Pittsford and is said to have crossed the lake with Allen's party and to have come originally from Dutchess County, N. Y. (History of Pittsford, pp. 100-103. (Statement of W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt.)

x* Col. John Spafford of Tinmouth, Vermont, was born in Connecticut, died at Lowville, N. Y., April 24, 1883, aged 71 years. An obituary in an unknown paper states that "he with his company was with Allen and Arnold in the taking of Ticonderoga and was by them directed to join in the expedition under Col. Warner against Crown Point, but he reached that important post before Col. Warner and received himself the sword of the commander, which is now in Col. Spafford's family." Some search by the writer has been made for this sword without success. Col. Spafford represented his town in the legislature of his State and had a family of thirteen children; was captain of a company in the Battle of Bennington and from his own stores provided the supplies for his company. One of his children, Horatio Gates Spafford, born at Dorset, Vermont, just after the battle of Bennington, was the author of the well known Spafford's Gazetteer of New York. Col. John married Mary Baldwin. She died September 9, 1842, at the house of her son, Heman Spafford, at Rutland, Vermont. Col. Spafford with his wife, a bride of but a few months, in 1772 came to Tinmouth from Connecticut in an ox-cart. (Statement of Hattie Platt Squires, North Clarendon, Vt. Vermont Historical Magazine, Vol. 3.) [Dat of death impossible, probably 1823.]

x Col. Seth Warner was in command of the rear guard. He remained on the Vermont side at the time that Allen crossed Lake Champlain with his party. He had command of the expedition that captured Crown Point. (Chittenden, page 104.)

x Joseph Tyler of Bridport, Vermont, was the companion of James Wilcox in the expedition to obtain boats wherewith to cross

Lake Champlain. The two young men are said to have been asleep in the house of Mr. Stone at Bridport on the night when the messenger arrived there and stated to Mr. Stone that he was in search of boats for the use of Allen's party. These two young men succeeded in decoying a boat which was in Lake Champlain in charge of a negro belonging to Major Skene, to the shore, where under promise of some whiskey they induced the negro to row them to Shoreham to join a hunting party. When they arrived at Hand's Cove the negro was made a prisoner. Tyler apparently was not a member of the expedition originally but seems to have joined it at the Cove with Major Skene's boat.

x* Lieut. Samuel Torrey, born Leicester, Mass., June 22nd, 1753, removed to Guilford, Vermont died November 15th, 1838. Married first Sabra Herrick, January 13, 1785; married second Hester Allen, January 5, 1795; married third Olive Smalley Gains, Oct. 1, 1795. It is an ancient and apparently well established tradition that Lieut. Torrey was one of the eighty-three to enter the fort with Allen. Abel Ripley Torrey of Detroit, Mich., in 1875 said that his father, Samuel, was one of those that entered the fort with Ethan Allen. (Statement of T. M. Tobin, Swanton, Vermont, and Clarence Almon Torrey, University of Chicago, Ill.)

x* Lieut. Col. Joseph Wait, born 1732, was an officer in the Continental Army; a brother of Benjamin Wait mentioned below and a son of John Wait. Family tradition and a statement published in a newspaper are the authorities for placing the name of Joseph Wait among the 83 present with Allen at the capture of Fort Ti.

x* Benjamin Wait, brother of the above, saw military service prior to the Revolution. He married a daughter of Capt. Thomas Gilbert of Brookfield, Mass. He was a delegate from Windsor, Vt., to the convention at Westminster, 1775, and was a delegate to the convention that formed the first Vermont constitution. Together with three brothers he served in Herrick's Rangers in the battle of Bennington. In 1775 his conduct was commended by the Vermont State Council in a letter to Col. Samuel Herrick. In 1779 the General Assembly of Vermont granted a charter of the

islands of North Hero and South Hero in Lake Champlain to Ethan Allen, Samuel Herrick and Benjamin Wait. The town of Waitsfield, Vermont, takes its name from this family. He occupied many prominent official positions with great credit to himself. He died February 28, 1822. He is buried by the roadside in Clarendon, Vermont, about three miles south of Rutland, where he died. A monument erected by his fellow officers marks the spot. Family tradition says that he was present at the capture of Ticonderoga. (Statement of Horatio L. Wait, Chicago, Ill., Thompson's Vermont, part 3, page 178.) [See also History of Waitsfield, Vt., recently published, Boston, 1909. J. A. H.]

* Amos Wells was with the party at Norfolk.

* Amos Weller, born in Sharon, Vt., in 1755, married Demis Rowley of that place, 1776; resided at Tinmouth, Vermont, afterwards at Rutland. He was a man of great physical power and among his descendants the tradition is preserved that when Allen arrived at the fort the gate was barred, and Allen turned to Weller and said, "Amos, put shoulder to," and together they forced the gate. Weller was placed on guard over twelve men with orders to shoot the first who should make resistance. He saw considerable military service after this time; was present at the capture of Crown Point and at the engagement at St. Johns. (Records at Pension Office. Statement of Kate Wright Prouty, Burlington, Vt., Smith's History of Addison County, page 764.) [All published accounts agree that the postern or wicket gate was open although the larger gate was closed. J. A. H.]

x James Wilcox of Bridport, Vt., was with Allen at Ticonderoga and was the companion of Tyler in the adventure to secure boats for the expedition to cross Lake Champlain, and must have been with the expedition at Hand's Cove. (Smith's History of Addison County, page 393.)

* Wilkes West.—His tombstone at Chester, N. H., has this inscription: "Wilkes West, born in Beverly, Mass., December 6, 1735, died at Chester, N. H., April 10, 1830, aged 94 years, four months, four days. He took part in the battle of Bennington and was with Col. Ethan Allen at the taking of Fort Ticonderoga, New

York. This tablet was erected by his grandson, Henry Mason West, 1886." Inscriptions on tombstones, like those in family Bibles, we are bound to believe are entitled to credence. (Statement of E. W. Sherman, Poultney, Vermont.)

x Captain Samuel Wright, probably from Pownal, Vermont, seems to have been captain of a company that participated in this expedition. (Application of Josiah Dunning for Pension.)

* Samuel Woolcott of Shoreham, Vt., came from Goshen, Conn., settled in Shoreham, 1773. Entered the fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

* Samuel Woolcott, Jr., son of the preceding, of Shoreham, Vt., also entered the fort with Allen.

THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga.

Seth Warner captured Crown Point.

Captain Samuel Herrick captured Skenesborough.

[Bernard Romans] captured the fort at the head of Lake George.

Benedict Arnold captured the British schooner on Lake Champlain and the garrison at St. Johns.

AT TICONDEROGA WERE TAKEN

120 Iron Cannon [from 6 to 24 pounds].

50 Swivels [of different sizes].

2 Ten-inch Mortars.

1 Howitzer.

1 Cohorn.

10 Tons of Musket Balls.

3 Cart Loads of Flints.

30 New Carriages.

A considerable quantity of Shells.

A warehouse full of material for boat building.

100 stands of Small Arms.

10 Casks of [very indifferent] powder.

2 Brass Cannon.

30 Barrels of Flour.

18 Barrels of Pork with Peas, Beans and other provisions. [See Stedman Amer. War, Vol. I. Page 131].

The prisoners were:

Capt. Delaplace.

Lieut. Feltham.

A Conductor of Artillery.

A Gunner.

Two Sergeants.

44 Privates—51 men in all [besides the women and children].

AT CROWN POINT WERE TAKEN

100 Pieces of Cannon.

A Sergeant and 12 Men.

Another account of the cannon captured by Col. Ethan Allen gives their number and weight as follows:

2 brass cohorns	weight, lbs.	300*
4 brass cohorns	weight, lbs.	400
2 brass mortars	weight, lbs.	600
1 iron mortar	weight, lbs.	600
2 iron mortars	weight, lbs.	3600
3 iron mortars	weight, lbs.	6900
8 brass cannon (3 pounders)	weight, lbs.	28000
3 brass cannon (6 pounders).	weight, lbs.	1800
1 brass cannon (18 pounder).	weight, lbs.	1200
1 brass cannon (24 pounder).	weight, lbs.	1800
6 iron cannon (6 pounders)	weight, lbs.	15000
4 iron cannon (9 pounders)	weight, lbs.	10000
10 iron cannon (12 pounders)	weight, lbs.	28000
7 double fortification cannon	weight, lbs.	28000
3 other cannon	weight, lbs.	15000

Also 2 iron howitzers.

Supplement New York in the Revolution, page 52. J. A. H.

[May 19, Benedict Arnold writing to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety gives a list of the cannon, etc., taken at Crown Point amounting to 111 pieces, also the guns, carriages, etc., sur-

* A cohorn or coehorn is defined as a small howitzer or mortar about 4.6 inches in caliber, usually carried by men or on small boats.

rendered at Ticonderoga, which gives a better idea of their condition than the one just quoted. Force's Arch., 4th Series, Vol. II, page 646.

A LIST OF CANNON, &c., TAKEN AT TICONDEROGA.

- 3 18-pounders, good.
- 2 French-pounders, bad.
- 2 12-pounders, good.
- 6 12-pounders, double fortified,
good.
- 2 12-pounders, useless.
- 12 9-pounders, good.
- 5 9-pounders, bad.
- 18 6-pounders, bad.
- 9 4-pounders, good.
- 16-pounder, good.
- 19 swivels, good.
- 2 wall pieces, good.
- 2 French 12-pounders, bad.
- 1 13-inch mortar and bed, good.
- 1 7-inch mortar and bed, good.
- 1 7-inch howitzer, good.
-
- 86
- 28 iron truck wheels.
- 10 carriages, fit for use.

N. B.—I shall send to Cambridge the 24-pounders, 12 and 6-pounders, howitzers, &c., as directed by Colonel Gridley. Four brass howitzers in the edge of the lake, and covered with water, cannot come at present. J. A. H.]

ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN WAS TAKEN

1 schooner and a sergeant and 12 men at St. Johns.

AT THE HEAD OF LAKE GEORGE.

One man and one woman [and possibly two male helpers], the sole garrison were taken prisoners.

AT SKENESBOROUGH, NOW WHITEHALL.

[Major Skene's son Phillip and his sisters were taken prisoners.

A store house and contents were captured, also a schooner and a number of flat boats].

The persons captured at Ticonderoga were taken to Connecticut under charge of Amos Callendar. The cannon were the next winter removed to Boston by means of teams. [This service was performed under direction of Col., afterwards Major General Henry Knox, whose idea it was. He reached Ticonderoga from Boston (by way of New York and the Hudson) Dec. 5. Assisted by General Phillip Schuyler, after much hardship and suffering and a perilous trip through Lake George he reached camp with the cannon and stores January 24, 1776. On the shores of Lake George, Col. Knox met the gallant but unfortunate Andre,' whose later connection with Arnold thus links him to the history of "Ti." (Life of Gen. Henry Knox, page 23). A most interesting account of the removal of the cannon will also be found in the Sexagenary, pp. 26 to 37. J. A. H.]

ANECDOTES OF ETHAN ALLEN.

Collected by R. O. BASCOM.

The following anecdotes are related of Ethan Allen as illustrating his character and originality:

In 1770 he was the Agent of the Hampshire Grants to represent them in certain litigations at Albany, concerning the title of lands in Vermont. All of the evidence offered by Allen showing title to the lands from the Governor of New Hampshire was simply excluded, and the verdict, of course, was against the settlers. After the court had adjourned, some gentlemen interested on behalf of the New York titles, called on Allen at the hotel, and urged him to make the best terms he could with his adversaries. Allen replied that "The Gods in the valleys are not the Gods of the hills." When urged to explain what he meant by this, he said, "Come to Holy hill at Bennington and I will show you."

As is well known, Allen was captured and taken as a prisoner to England. During his captivity he was subjected to great indignities; he held Sir William Howe and James Loring, a Tory, the Commissioner having charge of the prisoners, as responsible for his ill treatment, and said of them that they were "The most mean spirited, cowardly, deceitful animals in God's creation below, and legions of infernal devils with all of their tremendous horrors are impatiently ready to receive Howe and him with all their detestable accomplices into the most exquisite agonies of holy fire."

Having been offered a position in the military service of Great Britain, together with a large grant of land, if he would desert the cause of the Colonists, Allen said, "I view the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered our Saviour to give him all kingdoms of the world; to fall down and worship him when the poor devil had not one foot of land on earth." In a letter to a friend he said, "I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress is that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with my hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains and wage war with human nature at large."

When Allen was on his way to the Continental Congress shortly after the capture of Ticonderoga, he attended a church service at Bennington where the Rev. [Jedediah] Dewey preached a sermon on the "Capture of Ticonderoga," and in his prayer, Mr. Dewey poured forth his thanks to the Lord for having delivered the possession of this fortress into the hands of the people. In the midst of the prayer, Allen cried out, "Parson Dewey!" the interruption was not heeded, when Allen again exclaimed, "Parson Dewey!" still the clergyman continues his prayer when Allen, springing to his feet, called out in a voice of thunder, "Parson Dewey!" the clergyman stopped and opened his eyes with astonishment, when Allen said, "Parson Dewey, please make mention of my being there." [While a student at Williams, the editor remembers the late Prof. A. L. Perry, professor of History, relating this incident, with the addendum that Parson Dewey was not afraid of man, beast nor devil, and called out to Col. Allen, "Sit

down Ethan Allen, when I want you I will call upon you," and Allen sat down. J. A. H.]

In 1782 there were some defections in the town of Guilford, and the Committee of Safety sent Allen there to subdue the rebellion. He walked into the town on foot and issued his famous proclamation in which he said that "Unless the inhabitants peacefully submitted to the authority of the State of Vermont, he would lay the town of Guilford as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah, by God!" The proclamation was all that was necessary to insure the establishment of order in that community.

On one occasion having sued upon a note, he employed a lawyer in order to gain time, and his attorney, with that end in view, denied the genuineness of Allen's signature to the note. Allen arose in court and said, "Sir, I did not employ you to come here and lie! The note is a good one and the signature is mine; all I want is to the court to grant me sufficient time to pay it." [A compromise was speedily effected].

Being engaged in a theological controversy in relation to the theory of the Universalists, someone said, "That religion will suit you will it not, General?" The man who made this remark was a Tory, and Allen retorted, "No, no, there must be a hell in the other world for the punishment of Tories."

The inscription upon Allen's tomb-stone at Winoskie is as follows:

The
Corporeal Part
of
Gen. Ethan Allen
rests beneath this stone.
He died
the 12th day of February, 1789,
aged 50 years.
His spirit tried the mercies of his God,
In whom he believed and strongly trusted.

ADDITIONS AND NOTES TO "R. O. BASCOM'S ETHAN ALLEN'S MEN."

By JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

In looking up other historical data this winter, the writer had been impressed with the number of soldiers engaged in the Revolutionary War, who had settled in this northern section of the State and its close neighbor Vermont, which after all is a child of the flesh and bone of the bone of this big commonwealth.

In going through nearly five hundred volumes, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, I naturally ran upon a number of names intimately connected with the Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys in 1775. Those "out-laws" whose resistless spirit had not so long before carved the coming colony of Vermont bodily from the northern part of New York. Starting to mark these names as they appeared first out of curiosity, and continuing as a labor of respect, I found there were but a few to add to the list made by our revered late Secretary, Robert O. Bascom.*

The work he did on this record was a monumental one, as the writer can testify from following in his footsteps, even though along another line of historical endeavor. So thoroughly has he done his task, and so painstaking have been his researches, that there are but a sparse handful of names to be added, but still, there are a few, which are herewith submitted, to still further perfect the imperfect records of the "Great Expedition" of that day. From the historian's standpoint, it seems a pity that great egotist and erratic genius though he was, Ethan Allen could not have inserted in his memoirs, in place of so much uninteresting and bombastic stuff, the names of the noble eighty-three who so bravely volunteered to go into the fort with him, and thus have preserved forever in the pages of history, the real heroes of that eventful May 10th, 1775.

* For valuable and rare books and pamphlets loaned and for other information and aid extended, the writer desires to thank the New York State Library; Williams College Library; Crandall Free Library, of Glens Falls; A. S. Clark, Peekskill; W. J. Wilder and George W. Yates (a former Bennington resident), of Saratoga Springs; A. C. Bates, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford, Conn.; E. M. Goddard, Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, of Montpelier, Vt. J. A. H.

It is further to be regretted that the faithful and invaluable local historians of the New Hampshire grants and Northern New York of half a century and more ago, who have preserved in imperishable print deeds and events of the younger years of our republic, did not do their work a little more carefully. For instance, in a great many cases the record will read, "John Smith, a veteran of the Revolution, moved here such a date." Would the writer had taken a little more time to state in what company, regiment and year "John Smith" served.

Among the names which follow are a few which may have no direct connection with the capture of Ticonderoga. But as it was the proud boast and name of honor of many in the Great Rebellion of 1861-65, that they fought "mit Sigel", so those who in any capacity or at any time were with Allen on this expedition, are entitled to honorable mention, as participants in an event that changed the destinies of a nation.

There are few historical events about which so many contradictory reports have been written, as the so-called Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen. The historian who would sift out the grain of truth from the heaped-up chaff of inconsistency, perversion of the records, personal bias of the participants and one-sided statements of the historians of the affected colonies and later states, has no enviable task. Before me lies Ethan Allen's narrative as published in the Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser, beginning with November 9, 1779, written at Bennington four years after the event. He claims he "arrived at the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, on the evening of the ninth day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys." In most histories this number is stated as "two hundred and seventy, all of whom but forty (or forty-six) are Green Mountain Boys." A comparison of these figures with the letters written to the legislative assemblies of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, which appear in Vol. II (Fourth Series) of Force's Archives, shows a remarkable discrepancy in numbers. For instance:—Allen to the Massachusetts Congress, May

11th, says, "The soldiery was composed of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys, and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of Massachusetts Bay," (page 556.) Arnold says, same date, "I found one hundred and fifty men collected at the instance of some gentlemen from Connecticut headed by Colonel Ethan Allen," (page 557.) Under date of May 10th, Easton, Bull, Mott and Phelps write the Massachusetts Congress "that the Committee had the assistance of seventy men from the Massachusetts and one hundred and forty from the New Hampshire grants." On May 11th, Allen notified the Albany Committee, "that pursuant to his directions from sundry leading gentlemen from Massachusetts and Connecticut, I took the fortress of Ticonderoga, with about one hundred and thirty Green Mountain Boys." Colonel Easton with about forty-seven valiant soldiers, distinguished themselves in the action (page 606.) On May 20th, John Brown informed the General Congress at Philadelphia that a company of about fifty men from Connecticut and the western part of Massachusetts, and joined by upwards of one hundred from Bennington, in New York Government * * * invested the fort," (page 623). On May 18th, Colonel Easton before the Provincial Congress at Watertown, Mass., informs them that "last Tuesday sen-night about two hundred and forty men from Connecticut and this Province under Colonels Allen and Easton arrived at the lake near Ticonderoga; eighty of them crossed it, and came to the fort about the break of day," (page 624). On May 11th, Edward Mott wrote to the Massachusetts Congress a description of the attack on Ticonderoga. He states "that we collected to the number of sixteen men in Connecticut" * * * I set out with him to the Town of Jericho where Colonel Easton raised between forty and fifty men and proceeded to Bennington. * * * It was concluded and voted * * * that a party of thirty men under command of Captain Herrick should on the next day in the afternoon proceed to Skenesborough * * * and in the night [we] proceed up the lake to Shoreham * * * with the remainder of our men which was about one hundred and forty," (page 558). Under date of May 24th, to the General Assembly of Connecticut, Capt. William Delaplace, English commander of the

fort when captured, petitioned the Assembly and stated that on the morning of the 10th of May, the garrison of the Fortress of Ticonderoga and Province of New York was surprised by a party of armed men under the command of one Ethan Allen consisting of one hundred and fifty," (page 698).

There are a number of other citations but the foregoing should suffice to show, that excluding the thirty men sent to Skenesborough, the entire number under command of Allen, Warner and Easton did not exceed one hundred and fifty, or out of a total number of one hundred and eighty, which includes Colonel Arnold and his attendant, only about one hundred and twenty-five could be classed by any possibility as "Green Mountain Boys." For Easton and Mott "raised twenty-four in Jericho and fifteen in Williamstown" (Journal of Edward Mott—Collections Connecticut Historical Society, Vol. I, 1868). This thirty-nine added to the sixteen Connecticut men who participated, and Messrs. Easton and Brown would make fifty-seven, leaving one hundred and twenty-three to be accounted for from the Hampshire Grants. It was only a few days however before the fifty men raised by Colonel Arnold in Massachusetts appeared, and from that time until Col. Hinman took charge with his Connecticut regiment, men were constantly coming and going. It is therefore very plain that the number of men who served on this expedition, at its inception, has been greatly exaggerated by later historians, misled by Allen's exceedingly one-sided narrative.

THE ADDITIONAL LIST.

Remember Baker, the gallant young soldier of Arlington, Vt., who gave his life for his country at St. Johns a few months later, and who was one of the captains of the Green Mountain Boys, had been instructed to co-operate from his position at Otter Creek. This he did by intercepting two despatch boats sent from Crown Point with intelligence of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. Thus preventing the British authorities from getting premature information. Warner's reduction of Crown Point, Herrick's Capture of Skenesborough, Arnold's taking of the sloop, and Baker's in-

terception of the messengers, all added to the success of the enterprise. And entitled them to a place on the roll of distinction for meritorious service on this occasion. (Watson's History Essex County, Chap. IX, page 136, etc).

Chapman.—Zadock Thompson says in his History of Vermont, (Edition 1842, part 2, page 33), that Douglass on his way to Bridport for boats, stopped to see a Mr. Chapman to enlist him in the enterprise. It is possible Chapman joined the party, as he was bound to do by the rules of the Green Mountain Boys. It was the boat belonging to Major Skene, acquired by this visit, that allowed Allen to consummate his capture of the Fort, so Chapman deserves mention as a cause, even if we cannot prove he was present. In Chittenden's Address, he says Capt. Douglass stopped at the home of Mr. Stone in Bridport to get Chapman's assistance. James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler who were in bed, dressed and armed with their guns and a jug of "New England" (all potent weapons at close range) took the boat in question. (Capture of Ticonderoga, Hon. L. E. Chittenden, pp. 39-40).

Zebna Day of Wilton, Saratoga County, N. Y., is buried at Emerson's Corners in that County. On his tombstone appears the following: "Zebna Day, whose name in early life was enrolled among the Green Mountain Boys, died April 7, 1844, aged 87." (History of Saratoga County, N. Y. By Nathaniel B. Sylvester, 1878, page 469). There is only a slight probability this soldier was present.

Preston Denton, born May, 1755, came to Saratoga from Dutchess County early in May, 1775 to join an independent company of militia in the town of Stillwater, they being the first troops that went from the frontier to New York to fight the enemy at the north. Later he was with a company under Col. Ethan Allen when they were captured by the British and sent to England. (History of Saratoga County, N. Y. The Saratogian Edition 1890, Appendix, page 27).

Zadock Everest, a brother of Benjamin Everest (see Bascom's list), accredited in the Vermont Historical Magazine to Addison, was one of the Green Mountain Boys at the skirmish with

New York authorities at Vergennes in 1773. (Vermont Magazine, page 11). He was very likely on this trip to Ticonderoga also, as we find his name attached to the so-called Benedict Arnold's Declaration which, dated June 15th, 1775, antedated the one at Philadelphia by more than a year. It is signed by 31 persons, many of whose name-sakes still occupy the Champlain Valley. In the list is William Gilliland the pioneer of the Valley. (Mag. of American History, Barnes & Co., Feb., 1882, page 130).

Asa Eddy is coupled with Elias Herrick of Bascom's list, in Capt. Mott's Account of his Expenses rendered to Colony of Connecticut May 1, 1775. "To cash furnished Elias Herrick for his and Asa Eddy's expenses, 1 pound 4 shillings." (Collections Conn. Hist. Society, vol. I, page 173).

Enos Flanders, Sheffield, was one of the men present at the taking of Ticonderoga. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society, 1903-04, pp. 97-98).

William Gilliland, of Willsborough, N. Y., the pioneer of the Champlain Valley, according to a tradition in his family, had a prominent part in this momentous enterprise. (Watson's Pioneers Champlain Valley, pp. 47-48). He claims to have been the originator of the expedition against Ticonderoga. (Id. 174-175).

James Jones, afterward major, of the Town of Berlin, N. Y., "was at Ticonderoga. Col. Ethan Allen, Commander, and one of the garrison after Allen left. (This was in 1775)." He died in his 50th year, and was buried at North Stephentown, N. Y., in 1803. (History Rensselaer Co., N. Y., by N. B. Sylvester, 1880, page 509).

Samuel Laughton of Dummerston, was with Allen according to an article by Walter H. Crockett, published in the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for 1903-04 (pp. 97-98). A letter received from E. M. Goddard, Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, under date of March 23rd, this year, states that Mr. Crockett, at the time he prepared the list in question, was satisfied that the men named were part of Allen's band.

Eliphalet Loud of Weymouth, Mass., one of the most important men of his day in his town, was a soldier on the occasion

of the taking of Ticonderoga. ("Nash" in Magazine of American History, Mrs. Lamb, March, 1886, page 311).

Judah Moffet, from Brimfield, Mass., who married Nancy Hancock, niece of Gov. John Hancock, "was with the detachment of soldiers under Ethan Allen who surprised Ticonderoga in 1775." He served in the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 and at Siege of Yorktown in 1781. He died in 1852, aged 92 years, at his home in the shadow of the mountains near Rupert, Vt. (History Pawlet, Vt., by Hiel Hollister, page 216).

Nathaniel Parker came from Connecticut. He was in the Revolutionary Army, and was with Ethan Allen at the Capture of Ticonderoga. Settled in Middle Granville, Washington County, N. Y., on the Poultney road during the Revolution (about 1777?). He was in attack on Quebec under Montgomery. (History Washington County, N. Y., by Crisfield Johnson, 1878, page 198).

James Rogers of Hebron, N. Y., was one of the party which captured Skenesborough under Capt. Herrick, in 1775. This was the time when, as related in legendary history, the soldiers found the body of Mrs. Skene, which had been preserved for many years, in order to keep alive a legal bequest made to her from which her husband derived an income, so long as she was "above ground." Local tradition adds that the coffin was lead and that the soldiers buried the body in a suitable wooden casket and used the old one for bullets. (Crisfield Johnson's Washington County, page 399).

James Sargeant was born at sea in 1751. His early life was spent at Williamstown, Mass. Married, 1770, Ann Horton of Londonderry, Vt. "Went with Allen to 'Ti' and witnessed the capture of that Fortress in 1775." Was stationed at Fort Edward, N. Y., during the Revolutionary War; shared in the affairs on the North River. Was one of a number detached to act as a guard for Andre on his way to execution. Had five sons, one of whom, James, Jr., was born in "Ti," May 20, 1809. In 1819 Sargeant located in Pittsford, Vt., living there off and on till 1869, when he died. (History Pittsford, Vt. By A. M. Caverly, pp. 351-352-409). The year of death given by Mr. Caverly is obviously a mistake. It must have been 1829 or '39, but not 1869.

Colonel Gideon Warren, Veteran of the Revolutionary War, of Hampton, Washington County, N. Y., was at Ticonderoga with Ethan Allen. He received a wound in his elbow probably at the futile attack on St. Johns, which thereafter bothered him somewhat during his life. He probably enlisted from Williamstown, Mass., as he removed thence to Hampton with his family, about the time of the Revolution. Caleb, his first son, was also a soldier in the Revolution. He married Rachael Webster, and they had fourteen children, all of whom grew up. One of them was named Ethan, after Ethan Allen. Captain Warren was one of the original Captains of the Green Mountain Boys (Moore's *Memoirs of Ethan Allen*, page 17). He settled in the south part of the town, where he built a comfortable house on his 500 acres, a part of which is now included in Hampton's Corners. (Hermit of Mt. Ida, in *Troy Northern Budget* about 1885. See also Prof. Perry's *Origins in Williamstown*, page 615, for more details about Gideon Warren).

Ashbel Welles (whose team carried the baggage, etc., of the party from Hartford), is included in list of names in note to *Journal of Edward Mott*. (*Collections Conn. Hist. Society*, Vol I, page 167).

Captain Asaph White, formerly of Charlemont, Mass., the grandfather of Joseph White, who for many years was Treasurer of Williams College (and who was accustomed to tell the story), was at Ticonderoga as a soldier and saw some of the unseemly disputes between Arnold and Allen. Captain White used to tell his grandson in his boyhood that Allen was no match for Arnold in these contests. "He hadn't got no grit, Jo." (A. L. Perry's *Williamstown, and Williams College*, 1899, page 28). This is the first criticism of Allen's valor that I have ever seen. It might well be true however, that Arnold made it unpleasant even for the redoubtable Allen, for, no matter how men a little later regarded Arnold the traitor, there never was any doubt or aspersion cast upon his reputation for bravery as a soldier. Through the courtesy of J. A. Lowe of the Williams College Library, we have the following information:

“Col. Jonathan White held commission of Major and Lt. Col. in Ruggles’ regiment of the “New Levies” and was at the Battle of Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755. (This was the great grandfather of Joseph White). “Col. Jonathan White’s Lake George sword passed to his son, Col. Asaph White, and then to *his* son, Capt. Joseph White, and finally to *his* son, Mr. Joseph White, who having no children presented it to the college.” Guilielmensien, Class 1892, p. 13.” This sword is now in the College Library.

Col. Arnold’s attendant whose name, so far has never been discovered, must have been present at the taking of the Fort. Chittenden (page 39), in speaking of Arnold, makes this sarcastic allusion: “He is ‘attended’ by a servant—of the genus valet de chambre—the only one in that camp, the first recorded appearance of the species in Vermont.”

On June 10th a petition was prepared for the Continental Congress then in session at Philadelphia. It was dated from Crown Point, and signed by the following names: Colonel Ethan Allen; Major Samuel Elmore of the Connecticut Farms; Colonel James Easton of Pittsfield; Captain Seth Warner; Captain Hezekiah Balding; Captain Ebenezer Marvin; Captain Remember Baker; Captain George White; Captain James Noble, commandant at this place; Captain Amos Chapple; Captain Wait Hopkins; Captain Joseph McCracken; Captain John Grand Captain Barnabas Barnum; Captain James Wills; Lieutenant Ira Allen; Lieutenant Oliver Parmerly; Isaac Hitchcock, commissary; Stephen Bay, clerk of Major Elmore. How many of these men were in the original expedition aside from those we have is not known. The men we already know about are the two Allens, Easton, Warner and Baker.

The names of Wait Hopkins and John Grant (or Grand) as Captains, and Barnabas Barnum and Ira Allen as First Lieutenants; John or Johan (James?) Noble as Second Lieutenant are found in the list of officers selected at the Vermont Assembly or convention held July 27th. (History Vermont, Hall, pp. 211-212. See also Calendar of N. Y. Hist. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 109-110).

A Hezekiah Baldwin (Balding?) was appointed a captain by N. Y. Provincial Congress June 29, 1775, from Albany County.

On the same date Joseph McCracken, Charlotte County, was warranted as a captain. (N. Y. Hist., Mss. Vol. I, pp. 105-106. Vol. II, pp. 33-37). The name Balding was also common to Cumberland County, now part of Vermont (New York in The Revolution, page 134. Archives N. Y., Vol. I, page 276).

Ebenezer Marvin appears as chairman of the Saratoga, N. Y., Committee in 1776. (N. Y. Hist. Mss. Vol. I, page 236). The writer has been informed he was in command of an independent company raised in Stillwater about the time of the Allen expedition, but has not yet verified the claim.

George White appears as captain under Lieut. Colonel Robert Cochran, together with Capt. Hezekiah Baldwin in the 2nd Regiment of the line. (New York in the Revolution, page 29). Robert Cochran was one of Allen's right hand men.

The names of Chapple, Wills, Parmerly, Hitchcock and Bay we have not had an opportunity to trace out. The hunt after these names has been a most interesting one but time and opportunity are lacking to follow it further.

SOME ADDITIONAL ANECDOTES AND DATA CONCERNING ETHAN ALLEN.

Edited by JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

While many anecdotes have been related about Ethan Allen the majority of which are more or less fictitious, and a number of which may be found either in Hugh Moore's Memoir of Col. Ethan Allen published in 1834, or in Henry W. DePuy's "Mountain Hero and His Associates," or "Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys" as it is variously known, the following preserved in an old scrap book of the late A. W. Holden, and published some time in the 50's, are somewhat different from those usually given as characteristic of the man.

While discussing religion with one of the village pastors to whom he was extending hospitality at his supper table, the minister enquired how it happened that Allen had never joined any

church. Allen replied, "He had often thought about the matter, and after mentally deciding one day to take that step, he had a dream that same night which had caused him to give it up."

"And," exclaimed the minister, "what did you dream?"

"Well, I thought I was standing at the entrance of Paradise, and saw a man go up and knock."

"Who's that?" asked a voice from within.

"A friend wishing admittance," was the reply.

The door was opened and the keeper stepped out.

"Well, sir, what denomination did you belong to down yonder?"

"I was an Episcopalian, replied the candidate for admission."

"Go in, then, and take a seat near the door on the east side."

Just then another stepped up; he was a Presbyterian, and the guardian directed him to a seat. A large number were admitted and received directions where to seat themselves.

I then stepped to the entrance.

"Well, sir, who are you?" asked the guardian.

"I am neither High Churchman, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic or Jew, but I am the same Ethan Allen that you have probably heard from down below."

"What, the same man who took Ticonderoga?"

"The same," I replied.

"All right, Ethan," said he, "just step in and SIT DOWN WHERE YOU PLEASE."

An instance is related of Ethan Allen, that is said to have occurred while he was on his way to England. While closely confined to his room, he discovered one day that a pin or wire that fastened one of his hand-cuffs was broken. Extricating the pieces with his teeth, he was enabled so to loosen the bolt that it also was soon withdrawn, and one hand was set at liberty; he then proceeded to release the other, and was successful. This having been accomplished, he was not long in liberating his feet. Fearing, however, lest the Captain should discover his situation, and contract the "area of his freedom," he carefully replaced the bolts and pins before the arrival of the keeper. In a short time it became a fine recreation for the Colonel to take off and put on his chains at pleasure.

One day the Captain wishing to afford some merriment to the crew, commanded Allen to be brought upon deck. Hoping to frighten him, the Captain said:

"There is a possibility that the ship will founder—if so, what will become of us, especially you, Mr. Allen, a rebel against the king?"

"Why", said Allen, "that would be very much like our dinner hour."

"How so?" said the Captain, not reflecting that Allen was only allowed to come on deck while he himself went down into his cabin to dine.

"Well, you see", answered Allen, "I'd be on my way up just as you would be going down."

The Captain was not at all pleased with this reply, and commenced a regular tirade of abuse against the American people. "In a short time," said the Captain, "all the rebels will be in the same situation as yourself."

This was too much for Allen, and he determined to apply his newly acquired dexterity in unloosening his fetters to some purpose. Quickly raising his hands to his mouth, he apparently snapped asunder the pins and bolts, and hurling his hand-cuffs and fetters overboard—seized the astonished Captain by the collar, and threw him headlong upon the deck, then turning to the affrightened crew, he exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "If I am insulted again during the voyage, I'll sink the ship and swim ashore." This exploit so terrified the Captain and crew, that Allen was allowed to do pretty much as he pleased the remainder of the voyage.

In Moore's Memoirs (page 113), Allen relates this incident in a little different form: "To give an instance, upon being insulted, in a fit of anger, I twisted off a nail with my teeth, which I took to be a ten-penny nail; it went through the mortice of the bar of my hand-cuff, and at the same time, I swaggered over those who abused me; particularly a Doctor Dace, who told me that I was outlawed by New York, and deserved death for several years past; was at last fully ripened for the halter, and in a fair way to obtain it. When I challenged him, he excused himself in conse-

quence, as he said, of my being a criminal; but I flung such a flood of language at him, that it shocked him and the spectators, for my anger was very great. I heard one say, "damn him, can he eat iron?" After that a small padlock was fixed to the handcuff, instead of the nail; and as they were mean spirited in their treatment of me, so it appeared to me, that they were equally timorous and cowardly."

The "Romance of the Revolution" (page 330), speaking of Allen after he was taken prisoner at Montreal, says:

"At the expiration of six weeks, he was removed to a vessel off Quebec, where he received kind and courteous treatment. Here he remained until his removal on board the vessel which was to carry him to England. Here all of the prisoners, thirty-four, were thrust into a small apartment, each heavily ironed. They were compelled during the whole voyage to remain in their confinement, and were subjected to every indignity that cruelty could invent."

When first ordered to enter into their filthy apartment, Allen refused, and endeavored to argue their brutal keeper out of his inhuman purpose, but all in vain. The reply to his appeal was insults of the grossest kind, and an officer of the vessel insulting him by spitting in his face, hand-cuffed as he was, the intrepid American sprang upon the dastard, and knocked him at length upon the floor. The fellow hastily scrambled out of the reach of Allen, and placed himself under the protection of the guard. Allen challenged him to fight, offering to meet him even with irons upon his wrists, but the Briton, trembling with fear, contented himself with the protection afforded him by British bayonets, and did not venture to oppose the intrepid Americans. The prisoners were now forced into their den at the point of the bayonet. The sufferings of the captives during the voyage were intense. Their privations soon brought on diarrhœa and fevers. But notwithstanding their sickness, they received no attention from their jailors, and even those who were crazed with raging thirst, were denied the simple boon of fresh water."

Most readers of history, especially in New York and Vermont, are familiar with the story of Allen while living at Tinmouth, Vt.

"A lady came to the village physician to have a tooth extracted, while Allen was present. Finally becoming disgusted, with her lack of courage, Allen said to the physician, "take out one of my teeth." But—"Your teeth are all sound," said the physician, after an examination. "Never mind, do as I direct you," said Allen, and there was suddenly a gap in his array of ivory. "Now take courage, madam, from the example I have given you," said Allen to the trembling lady. Pride overcame her fears, and she was soon relieved of her apprehensions of pain, and of her tooth also (DePuy, page 393).

Levi Allen, brother of Ethan, became a Tory, although he afterwards recanted. He sent a challenge to his brother Ethan, on account of some alleged wrong done him by Colonel Allen, who refused to fight him on the ground that it would "be disgraceful to fight a Tory."

Colonel Allen's first wife was from Connecticut, where she died. "His courtship of his second wife was characteristic. During a session of the court at Westminster, Allen appeared with a magnificent pair of black horses and a black driver. Chief Justice Robinson and Stephen R. Bradley, an eminent lawyer, were there, and as their breakfast was on the table, they asked Allen to join them. He replied that he had breakfasted, and while they were at the table, he would go in and see Mrs. Buchanan, a handsome widow who was at the house. He entered the sitting-room, and at once said to Mrs. Buchanan, "Well, Fanny, if we are to be married let us be about it." "Very well," she promptly replied, "give me time to fix up." In a few minutes she was ready, and Judge Robinson was at once called upon by them to perform the customary ceremony. Said Allen, "Judge, Mrs. Buchanan and I have concluded to be married; I don't care much about the ceremony, and as near as I can find out, Fanny cares as little for it as I do; but as a decent respect for the customs of society require it of us, we are willing to have the ceremony performed." The gentlemen present were much surprised, and Judge Robinson replied, "General Allen, this is an important matter; have you thought seriously of it?" "Yes, Yes," exclaimed Allen, looking at Mrs. Buchanan, "but it don't require much thought." Judge Robinson

then rose from his seat and said, "Join your hands together. Ethan Allen, you take this woman to be your lawful and wedded wife; you promise to love and protect her according to the law of God and—" "Stop, stop, Judge. The law of God," said Allen, looking forth upon the fields, "all nature is full of it. Yes, go on. My team is at the door." As soon as the ceremony was ended, General Allen and his bride entered his carriage and drove off." (DePuy, page 426).

A somewhat recent pamphleteer in recounting the following incident in Allen's life has drawn certain conclusions. To those of the Illuminati, who have seen the true and only light in the East, Allen's remark will have a deeper, far more significant meaning. This and his alleged allusions to the Great Jehovah, would show that sometime and somewhere Ethan Allen had trodden the same paths and seen the same light as some of his less prominent brethren. This writer, Robert Dewey Benedict, of Brooklyn, says:

"When he was taken prisoner at Montreal he was brought before the English General Prescott. Allen's narrative tells us: "He asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was that Col. Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel. * * * * I told him he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the BEETLE OF MORTALITY for him if he offered to strike." The Englishman probably had seen enough logs split with a beetle and wedges, to recognize the appropriateness of the figure of a beetle as descriptive of Allen's heavy fist; and when it was described as a "beetle of mortality" he recognized that it was a weapon which he would do well not to meet." (Extract from Benedict's *Ethan Allen's Use of Language*, in *William Abbott's Magazine of History* for March, 1905).

Ethan Allen had peculiar religious ideas. In Benedict's article referred to above, he says on the authority of Lieut. Col. Graham, who came to live in Rutland in 1785, "I have often heard General Allen affirm that he should live again under the form of

a large white horse." As there may be some, even at this late day, who would like to know where Allen went or was supposed to go by some of his contemporaries to prepare for his transmigration, the following epitaph from one of the strictest of his sect in those days may be illuminating.

The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, then president of Yale College, known as "an inveterate chronicler" who kept notes and data on all subjects that he thought might be of interest to posterity, wrote in his diary under date of Feb. 13th, 1789, "General Ethan Allen of Vermont died and went to Hell this day." (Foot Note—Ames' Almanack, edited by Sam Briggs, page 343).

There were six sons born to Joseph Allen of Litchfield, Conn., and his wife as follows: General Ethan, Capt. Heman, Major Heber, Lieut. Levi, Zimri, and Col. Ira, all of whom were more or less connected with the early history of Vermont and the Revolution. Of all the brothers Ethan and Ira, the oldest and the youngest were the most celebrated, and capable. If Ethan Allen was the lion of the family, Ira was the fox, carrying his points by finesse rather than by brute force

Thompson in his Memoir of Ira Allen (Vermont Hist. Society, 1908-1909, pp. 114-119), tells how Ira challenged Ethan for a trip through the woods in which Ira was an expert. Much to his surprise Ethan not only kept up with him, but by plunging ahead through swamp and thicket, swale and clearing, covered more ground than Ira, who by his familiarity with the woods was enabled to take short cuts not known to Ethan. Although both were played out at the end, "Ethan admitted he could claim no advantage and desired to call it a draw game," to which Ira gladly acquiesced.

Mr. Thompson goes on to say, "To plunge ahead, obstructions or no obstructions, and intent only on his straight-going purpose, was Ethan Allen all over; and thus to outgeneral his antagonist by this ingenious stratagem, was Ira Allen all over. We never heard of any one incident that better illustrated the different characteristics of the two brothers."

“Levi Allen was the equal of his brothers in talents, energy and bravery, but not in patriotism and judgment. He was eccentric and unstable—as “the rolling stone that gathers no moss”—and he therefore garnered no wealth of honor and renown as did they. From the first they seem to have doubted the character of Levi, since he was not a member of the great land company, and was afterward repudiated as a Tory. Of this an amusing piece of evidence is found in doggerel verses which come attributed, not without reason, to Levi Allen, as having been written when he was smarting under the loss of his property, which he charged to Ira, although Ethan entered the complaint. It shows that both Ethan and Ira regarded Levi as a great rogue, for which Levi took his revenge by counting Ira as the greatest rogue of the three. It is as follows:

THE THREE BROTHERS.

ETHAN.—

Old Ethan once said over a full bowl of grog,
Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God;
There is also a Devil—you will see him one
day

IRA.—

In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away.
Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear
That you are inclined to banter and jeer;
I think for myself and I freely declare
Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air;
If ever you see them engaged in affray,
'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.

LEVI.—

Says Levi, your speeches make it perfectly
clear
That you both seem inclined to banter and
jeer;
Though through all the world my name stands
enrolled
For tricks sly and crafty, ingenious and bold,
There is one consolation which none can deny
That there's one greater rogue in this world
than I.

ETHAN & IRA.—“Who’s that?” they both cry with equal surprise.

LEVI.— ’Tis Ira! ’tis Ira! I yield him the prize.

(Records Council of Safety, Vermont, Vol. I, pp. 112-113. Levi’s dubious opinion of his family is also to be found in Dawson’s Historical Magazine for Feb’y, 1869, pp. 127-128).

HOW TICONDEROGA WAS CAPTURED.

The following extracts, give a somewhat different version of the Capture of Ticonderoga, from that ordinarily printed in the text books.

“The easy capture of this strong fortress at the beginning of the Revolutionary War by Colonel Ethan Allen has been one of the puzzles of historians, and many have been the attempts to account for the total surprise on the part of the officers of the garrison. The following tradition is one of the many, and may be as true as some of those credited by the scholars and writers.

Eliphalet Loud, Esq., one of the most important men of his day in this town, a man of unusual ability and education, was a soldier on that occasion, and a verbal tradition current in his family, says that, on the evening before the capture, the English and American officers were engaged in a social entertainment, at which the American officers, with the attempt in view, plied their English associates most plentifully with liquor, while they, knowing the necessity for cool heads, poured theirs down their bosoms, and the result was, what might be expected, a total surprise. The old gentleman always expressed the regret that these American officers must have felt at the WASTE of so much good liquor, but the success gratified it.” NASH. Weymouth, Massachusetts, 12 February, 1886. (Extract from Notes of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb’s Magazine of American History, March, 1886).

Corroborating the above legend to some extent is a reference I discovered in my father’s History of Queensbury which gave a clue that followed up disclosed the following, from the best English history of that period:

"Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the former situated at the north end of Lake George, and the latter near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, form the gates on that quarter of Canada. These posts had already been secured in the following manner: A volunteer, of the name of Ethan Allen, assembled of his own accord, about fifty men, and proceeded immediately to the environs of the first-mentioned fortress, commanded by Captain Delaplace of the Twenty-sixth regiment, who had under his command about sixty men. Allen, who had often been at Ticonderoga, observed a complete want of discipline in the garrison, and that they even carried their supine negligence to the length of never shutting the gates. Having disposed his small force in the woods, he went to Captain Delaplace, with whom he was well acquainted, and prevailed on him to lend him twenty men, for the pretended purpose of assisting him in transporting goods across the lake. These men he contrived to make drunk; and on the approach of night, drawing his own people from their ambuscade, he advanced to the garrison, of which he immediately made himself master. As there was not one person awake, though there was a sentry at the gate, they were all taken prisoners. On the commandant's asking Allen, by what authority he required him to surrender the fort, he answered, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The reduction of Crown Point which had neither guard nor garrison, became a matter of course. Allen also surprised Skenesborough, belonging to Major Skene, who with his son and negroes were taken prisoners. About the same time an American officer, afterwards highly distinguished, seized the only ship of the royal navy on Lake Champlain. Benedict Arnold at the commencement of the difference between Great Britain and America was placed at the head of a company of volunteers by the inhabitants of Newhaven." (Stedman's History of the American War, Vol. I, pp. 131-132, London, 1798). With this tradition current among both American and English soldiery of that day, there may be some foundation of truth for it. The biographers of Ethan Allen, show that like nearly every other man of that day, he was a hard drinker, and such a method of warfare could easily have appealed to him, or some of his command.

WHAT ETHAN ALLEN REALLY SAID AT TICONDEROGA.

The language said to have been employed by Ethan Allen in demanding the surrender of Ticonderoga, has always appeared to the writer on a par with that reported to have been used by George Washington on cutting down the famous cherry tree. However acceptable Ethan Allen's religious views might be today, which seems to be a period of fads, follies and freaks, in ecclesiastical notions, in those days he was considered to be an impious atheist by the staunch old Puritans of New England.

Four years after his capture, i. e., in 1779, he published his famous narrative from which fully 90 per cent of the accounts of the capture of Ticonderoga have been taken, even some of the historians practically of his own time unfortunately using it as a basis for their story of the exploit.

From an Address entitled "The Frauds of History," delivered by the late A. W. Holden, Feb. 20, 1885, we take the following:

"In one of the cemeteries of Burlington, Vermont, stands a colossal base surmounted by a colossal statute with its right hand raised perpendicularly toward heaven as if in the act of invocation. It is a statue erected to the memory of Ethan Allen, the patron saint of Vermont, and pictures to the eye that famous fiction and fraud in our history which is repeated over and over again in our school literature, as well as our larger histories. Ethan Allen it is well known was a rank infidel and unbeliever, and also one of the most profane and blasphemous braggarts and blusterers that then existed. He was the prototype of the cow-boy of the western prairies. As he had no reverence for Deity, it could be in no reverential sense, that he demanded the surrender of the fortress of Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." And if it was an explosion of sheer blasphemy, is it not discreditable to glory in it, and teach our children such wanton profanity. But we shall presently see that this was a deliberate after thought. Hind sight is better than foresight. Allen, like John Smith, was his own biographer, and made the story to suit himself, so that to posterity the crown of glory, borne by angel wings, might be seen hovering over his sanctified head.

The first congress which convened at Carpenter's hall, Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, was variously designated
Congress of Commissioners.
Convention of Commissioners.
Congress of the Colonies.
British and American Legislature.

This convention adopted an address to the people of Canada and another to the king, recommending the reassembling of the Congress on the 10th of May next, the very day on which Fort Ticonderoga was taken. Up to this time no outspoken voice had been made for separation from the mother country, no Continental Congress was known. It was not until the 4th of July, 1776, that the declaration of independence was promulgated to the world, and it was not until the 7th of June, 1776, that it was even proposed by the body which first called itself the Continental Congress, and which was represented by delegates from the thirteen colonies.

And thus we find that as the expression or term of Continental Congress was wholly unknown at the time of the Capture of Fort Ticonderoga, and Arnold who entered the breast works and citadel side by side with him says nothing about it; whatever Allen's relations may have been to the Great Jehovah it is fairly to be inferred that the interpolation of the Continental Congress was an after thought and after work." (See Judge Gibson's letter under head of Who took Fort George for his adverse opinion of Allen).

Albert Bushnell Hart, in his lately-published series "The American Nation," says "If Allen, as he later asserted, demanded its surrender 'in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,' he had no right to do so, for his commission was from Connecticut, and Congress when it assembled hesitated to approve of Connecticut placing a garrison in Ticonderoga or Crown Point, which surrendered at the same time to Seth. Warner, another famous Vermonter." (Vol. IX, Chap. III, pp. 40-41).

In his paper, "The Capture of Ticonderoga," Allen's great advocate, the Hon. L. E. Chittenden, quotes (on Page 46) from

Goodhue's History of Shoreham, on the authority of Major Noah Callender, that Allen's language was "by the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" in place of "In the name of etc." To use the name of Jehovah as an oath instead of an adjuration, would seem to be more in Allen's vein of thought than the phrase he afterwards employed in his memoirs which were to appear in public, and regarding which he would have some pride in making the best self-appearance possible. Either out of respect for their readers, or because they did not want Allen's character to appear any worse than possible, the historiographers of Vermont, of New England, even of New York which had no reason then or now to love Ethan Allen, with but few exceptions have failed to give Allen's alleged real language (if the paradox may be allowed), which must have been current gossip in the early years of the last century in New England and New York.

On page 124 of Chittenden's address is found Washington Irving's account of the seizure of Ticonderoga, as given in his last, almost death bed work, *The Life of Washington*, published after years of preparation in 1855-59. Irving says: "The Commandant appeared at his door half dressed 'the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder.' He gazed at Allen in bewildered astonishment. 'By whose authority do you act?' exclaimed he. 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,' replied Allen, with a flourish of his sword, and *an oath we do not care to subjoin.*"

Dr. J. A. Spencer, who published a History of the United States in 1858, presents this situation in almost the same language as is quoted above, giving Allen's supposed exclamation and then goes on to say: "Ending the command (we are sorry to say), *with an oath following it.*" (Vol. I, page 354).

Dr. B. J. Lossing adds a little different touch to the drama by stating "Delaplace and Allen were old friends" and when the astonished captain exclaimed "By what authority do you demand the surrender?" Allen raised his sword and thundered out "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The Captain began to speak when Allen pointed to his men and told him to keep still and surrender immediately, which command

Delaplace was forced to obey. (Our History by B. J. Lossing, 1877, Vol. 2, pp. 798-799).

If Allen really uttered the words which impressed his name, and exploit, indelibly on the history of the country, as being one of its most notable events, it is very strange that arrogant, conceited, self-worshipper that his own narrative shows him to have been, he did not advise at once the various patriotic conventions and assemblies, which were in session at that time, as well as the Continental Congress, which began its first session on that same memorable May 10th, of the important message he had just delivered in the name of the American people.

A careful investigation of Peter Force's Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. II, fails to show that any mention ever was made by Allen, Arnold or Mott in their letters or reports, of any allusion to the Deity or the Continental Congress on the taking of the Fort.

On pages 624-625 is an account of the appearance of Col. Easton before the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Watertown. It is there stated, on the authority of Col. Easton that the "Invading forces gave three huzzahs, which brought out the garrison;" * * * * the commanding officer soon came forth; Col Easton clapped him on the shoulder, told him he was his prisoner, and demanded in the name of AMERICA an instant surrender of the fort, with all its forces, to the American Forces." The officer was in great confusion and expressed himself to this effect: "Damn you, what does all this mean?" In his memorial to the Connecticut Assembly however, Capt. Delaplace, who commanded the fort at this time, (Force, page 396), makes no mention of the language used on that occasion. The same authority says on pages 1085-1086 that a writer named "Veritas" brands as a falsehood Col. Easton's statement at the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. On page 1087 Capt. Delaplace likewise contradicts Col. Easton, saying he "never saw him at the time the fort was surprised, and had no conversation with him then nor at any other time."

It would seem as if had Col. Allen used the words attributed to him, they would have mentioned, as has been said before, some-

where in the official accounts of the action, rendered immediately to the colonies interested.*

Prof. A. L. Perry in his History of Williamstown and Williams College, came to the conclusion that Israel Harris, then of Williamstown, later of Rutland, and finally of South Hartford, Washington County, where he died Nov. 28, 1836, in his 90th year, was the author of the article signed "Veritas," referred to above. Harris always claimed that he was the third person to enter the fort after Allen and Arnold. Prof. Perry states on the authority of Prof. James Davie Butler, Wisconsin University, and the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Harris Noble, of Schaghticoke, N. Y., grandsons of Israel Harris, that "Allen's first exclamation when he reached the stairs that led to the apartment of Delaplace, the commandant, was, 'Get out of here, you damned old rat!' Later, when Delaplace appeared half dressed at his door and demanded the authority for such an astounding interruption, and Allen had time to sober down to realities, then he employed the famous phrase that has immortalized his name," (page 35).

In Larned's History for Ready Reference (page 3226), C. W. Elliot's New England History (N. Y., 1857, Scribner Edition), is quoted as the best account supposedly of the event. The excerpt is as follows: "Allen sought and found the Commander's bed-room, and when Captain Delaplace waked, he saw anything but an angel of mercy with white wings. Delaplace opened the door, with trowsers in hand, and there the great gaunt Ethan stood, with a drawn sword in his hand. 'Surrender,' said Ethan. 'To you,' asked Delaplace. 'Yes, to me, Ethan Allen.' 'By whose authority,' asked Delaplace. Ethan was growing impatient, and raising his voice and waving his sword, he said, 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, by God!'" (V. II, chap. 18. Compare also his announcement to residents of town of Guilford, Vt., in Anecdotes).

Putting together therefore the proverbial two and two we find that the language which would have been employed by Ethan Al-

* Those who desire to pursue this subject further are referred to the following pages, Fourth Series, Vol. II, of Force's Archives, which bear the most directly on the subjects under discussion: 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 584, 585, 605, 606, 618, 619, 623, 624, 625, 638, 639, 646, 698, 699, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 1085, 1086, 1087.

len on this occasion according to the best evidence at hand, and that which would be the most appropriate in Allen's mouth was: "Get out of here you damned old rat, and surrender." (Harris). "To you," asked Delaplace. "Yes, to me, Ethan Allen." (Elliott). To which Delaplace replied, "By what authority *do you* demand the surrender," (Lossing). Or by whose authority do you act, (Irving). In response to which Allen made his now memorable reply, "By the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, *by God.*" (Chittenden-Elliott).

Israel Harris, quoted above, claimed that Allen never used the expression usually and customarily attributed to him, and it is certain that none of his immediate contemporaries gave him credit for using it. But giving him the benefit of the doubt, it would seem as if it were now time to eliminate this blasphemous sentence from the annals of that day, and no longer allow it to stand as one of the shibboleths of the nation's early struggles for its liberty.

SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS RELATING TO THE TICONDEROGA CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

EDITED BY JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

During the late sixties and early seventies of the nineteenth century, there sprang up what might have been termed an epidemic of local historical writing. This state was fortunate in having in the late Joel Munsell of Albany, a publisher so interested in history as to accept the manuscripts of local historians and publish them at his own risk. In this way were preserved some valuable records which would otherwise have been forever lost. Stirred by this patriotic example the ever ready and willing writers of history in New England were led to publish even more voluminously than in the forties and fifties their own historical data. It is on account of the publication of such local histories that the events and affairs of the French and Indian War, and the period of the Revolution, have been preserved to us in such minute detail.

As is to be expected in matters where local pride holds pre-eminence, the majority of these histories even when by writers of

national renown displayed, to the highest degree, a bias and prejudice which must be allowed for in the summing up the testimony for or against any disputed historical point. It would seem almost impossible to gather any new facts relative to Allen's Expedition against Fort Ticonderoga in 1775. Still going over some boxes of correspondence and Mss. belonging to the late Austin W. Holden of Glens Falls, the writer, this spring, discovered a number of interesting letters hitherto unpublished relating to this campaign. In those earlier days referred to my father was engaged in preparing the copy for his *History of Queensbury, N. Y.*, (subsequently published by Munsell in 1874), and was in correspondence and constant communication with the leading New York State historians such as William L. Stone, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, B. F. DeCosta, Judge James Gibson and Dr. Asa Fitch of Salem, Judge William Hay of Saratoga, Dr. F. B. Hough, as well as Parkman, the Rev. Dr. W. I. Kipp, and many other prominent historical writers of that time.

It is with DeCosta, Hay and O'Callaghan however that the series of letters to be presented here is more expressly concerned. During the period covered by these letters Vermont was receiving a great deal of attention, both from her own historians, and those of New York, over the Ethan Allen campaign and the incidents preceding or connected with it. Histories, monographs, magazine and newspaper articles galore were written around and about this subject. Hon. L. E. Chittenden, Hiland and Henry Hall upheld the honor of Vermont; J. H. Trumbull that of Connecticut; H. W. Dawson of the *Historical Magazine* and Judge William Hay, that of New York; while the Rev. B. F. DeCosta jumped in and out administering impartially, punishment to both sides. As is usual in such disputes there was a great deal of unnecessary bitterness, acrimony, and prejudice displayed on both sides.

In presenting the following letters, the writer would state they are exact transcripts of the originals the only parts omitted being those of a purely personal nature or referring to the *History of the Town of Queensbury* and not germane to the Ticonderoga Expedition. The letters are given where possible in chronological sequence.

I. FROM REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

316 E. 15 Stuyvesant Park,
New York, Nov. 25, 1867.

Dr. A. W. Holden:—

My Dear Sir:—I have to thank you for your last letter & contents, also for the paper with Art. IX on Queensbury. ⁽¹⁾ I notice that you speak of Arnold as entering *Ti* with Allen, thus following Bancroft who says that Arnold “emulously kept by his (Allen’s) side.” I have examined Bancroft’s authorities with care & find that they do not bear him out. On the contrary I have the best of proof that Arnold did not reach the Fort until a day or two afterward, when he again claimed command of the troops and had his hat knocked off [for] his pains by Allen. I should like to know if you have anything beyond the Conn. historical collections bearing on the point. My authority is Beaman who acted as Allen’s guide, & with his father and mother spent the previous day at *Ti* as DeLaplace’s guest.

You also speak of Forts George & Gage as being seized by Parks. I apprehend that there was no garrison at the latter place, nor can I find much about it any way. In one old map it is called Fort Lyman. Lyman you know was on the ground in 1755 & 6. I judge by your account that you think the English garrison left Fort George before Park arrived. If so how could the Commander have surrendered his sword to Park. I see that you do not give the date of the affair. I suppose it is some what legendary though I should be glad to know to the contrary. Of late I have become a perfect skeptic, and only believe when they give me Chap. & verse. I should like to see the authorities in this matter. The British officer’s name is not given. ⁽²⁾ The commander there in 1777, when Baroness Reidsel came up to lake was Col. Anstruther.

I should be glad to see other copies of your Queensbury chapters which bear on the subject. The American Archives afford good material which would bear on the Queensbury region.

Note No. 1.—Pub. in Glens Falls Messenger, Nov. 15, 1867. See also “The Capture of Fort George” following this article.

Note No. 2.—Afterwards discovered to be Capt. John Nordberg. DeCosta’s Lake George, pp. V-VI, Appendix, N. Y., 1868.

I have consulted them for Lake George with profit. I am now trying to get access to the unpublished archives in the Congressional Library. I shall delay my historical sketch until the last minute. My engravings are nearly finished. I remember Lossing's views, and the Harpers have agreed to let me have several. I should be glad of any photographs you may have bearing on the subject. I should have given up the matter wholly but for the fact that I had got started on the engravings before I heard of you through Dr. Cromwell. ⁽³⁾ I will return any photographs sent me in a few days, as I only need them to sketch from. I have started the matter of hon. membership in Mass. Hist. Genealogical Society.

Yours very truly,

B. F. DeCosta.

P. S. I forgot about the Diocesan Division. ⁽⁴⁾ I am afraid that you are cut off from the great source of vitality now, or will be when the thing is accomplished. But we shall see.

B. F. D.

Within the past few days, in fact just as this article was going to press, through the kindness of H. McKie Wing of Glens Falls, the writer came into possession of Volumes I and II of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, edited by E. P. Walton of Montpelier, (the Munsell of Vermont). Volume I, pages 319 to 500 contains a reprint of the scarce and now unobtainable "History of Vermont by Ira Allen." It is very evident that Dr. DeCosta and some of the Vermont Historians were unfamiliar with Ira Allen's account of the exploit. Ira Allen says "At length, after considerable altercation, Colonel Arnold was admitted as second in command, and to enter the garrison with Colonel Allen, AT HIS LEFT HAND * * * * * It being a peaceable time, a wicket gate was left open wide enough for two men to pass a-breast; when Colonels Allen and Arnold approached, the out sentinel attempted to fire, but his gun did not go off; he turned and

Note No. 3.—Dr. James Cromwell, a prominent physican and citizen of Caldwell (Lake George), N. Y., from 1848 to 1875.

Note No. 4.—The reverend Doctor's prophecy as to the results which would follow the separation of the Diocese of Albany from the Diocese of New York has fortunately not been fulfilled. The Diocese of Albany under the beneficent direction of Bishop Doane became one of the leading dioceses of the Episcopal denomination.

ran through the wicket gate, and Allen and Arnold rushed in after him, and their men followed them." (p. 363).

Had Dr. DeCosta been in possession of this information from not only a contemporary but a brother of the chief actor, he would not have fallen into so ridiculous an error, as to state that Benedict Arnold was not present at this time, even if he did not give any credence to the letter from Col. Allen published in Force's Archives (Fourth Series, Vol. II, page 606), containing practically the same information.

In 1835 Nathan Beman, at that time living in Malone, published in a local paper, being then in his 79th year, an account of his connection with the Expedition. In this Beman claimed that Arnold did not accompany the Expedition in any capacity. It was not long however before Dr. DeCosta found it was not safe to rely on the garrulous wanderings of an old man in his dotage. ⁽⁵⁾

II. FROM DR. DE COSTA.

Stuyvesant Square,
316 E. 15th St.,
Dec. 4, '67

Dr. A. W. Holden:

My Dear Sir

I have to thank you for your favor of Nov. 30, with the enclosure, which I will retain until Stoddard ⁽⁶⁾ sends something better, when I will pass it over as directed. My engravings are pretty well on, I shall begin typesetting next week. Your list contains one of "Silver Cascade" at Caldwell, this is news. I never heard of it before, though I inquired for such things when at the lake. I should like very much to know where it is and to see the picture. I do not know that Stoddard has one. Rogers in his journal mentions a water fall on the east side of the lake, but I infer that it was a winter institution.

Note No. 5.—Article by Beaman in Franklin County (N. Y.) Gazette, copied in Glens Falls Messenger, Jan'y 17, 1868.

Note No. 6.—S. R. Stoddard, artist, photographer, publisher guide books on Lake George Champlain and the Adirondacks, and cartographer, still at Glens Falls. N. Y.

I have read over your letter with care, and I have looked Lossing with reference to Arnold & Ti., but do not find that he gives any authorities. I have looked over the American Archives, and find that Arnold claims more for himself than Bancroft does for him. (See Arch. Vol. 2, p. 557) also (N. York Jour. June 1, 1775 & Aug. 3, 1775) Beamans narrative is utterly at variance with Bancroft & Arnold, & I am now trying to get at the real worth of Bemans character. (⁷) The accounts of the time were exceedingly ex-parte. All I want is to get the facts for my brief narrative of Ti. I have as little respect for Allen as for Arnold. I find by the N. Y. Journal that an attempt was made to give all the glory to Col. Easton. I do not believe that the true history of the affair has ever been written & the farther I get into it the less hope I have of getting at the truth myself.

About Ft. George you say that it is a "recorded fact that the artillery companies did proceed down the lake & entrench themselves at Diamond Island". Also that "the Records of the Provincial Congress show that at the time the British garrison at the head of the lake consisted of two companies of Artillery". I had previously made search on these points & have since looked about considerable, but find nothing of it. I should be glad to know where in the records the facts may be found.

In 1773 Crown Point blew up and at that time Ti could accomodate only 50 men. Gen. Haldiman wanted 200 more, but there was no accomodation. The following year (1774) there were only a *few* soldiers at the head of L. George to *forward supplies* (⁸) & when *Ti.* surrendered there were only 40 men in the garrison. I have hunted up all the English & American papers relating to that year, also the English army registers, but find nothing of a garrison at Lake George. Ti & Cr. Pt. are *alone* mentioned. Yet the father of Skene was appointed to the command of the *three* posts and was on his way to take possession when he fell into

Note No. 7.—Dr. DeCosta goes back on Beaman in a severe attack on his veracity published in Dawson's Hist. Mag. for May, 1868, pp. 273-274.

Note No. 8.—This local tradition when finally run to earth showed Diamond Island to have been fortified, not in 1775, but in 1777. Holden's Queensbury, pp. 456-457. Quotes Stone's Memoirs of General Reidesel, Vol. I, pp. 124-5.

the hands of Colonial authorities. This is as near as I can get to the matter with present light. I should like to know where the subject is alluded to in *Provincial* Records.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

B. F. DeCosta.

III. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

Albany, Dec. 19, 1867.

Dear Sir:—

You inquired of me some time ago whether I could point out any Books that refer to your Section, of which I am glad to learn you are endeavoring to illustrate the early History.

I hope that you will continue your valuable labors and furnish the public eventually with a Volume on the subject. It is historic ground and will well repay research. * * *

I have carefully read your Papers in the Glens Falls Messenger and found them very interesting. On a subject with which you are most familiar, it would not become me to pretend too much knowledge. My remarks consequently cannot be of much value. In the Messenger No. 35, Aug. 30, '67, in the paragraph at the foot of the last column, the printer has made it is presumed a typographical error in printing Mr. William Gilliland "*Sir* William". Mr. Watson of Essex Co., has lately published some account of this Gilliland, who I think was originally a private soldier in one of the British regiments that served in the French War, and so became acquainted with the country about Lake Champlain.

In the same par. I read:

"About the same time (May or June 1765) the proprietors of Queensbury deeded to Mr. Abraham Wing a section of 10 acres of land immediately at the Falls, on condition that he should build there a saw mill and grist mill for the accommodation of the inhabitants. This condition was complied with."

I have been fortunate enough to find among the papers here an "Account for Building a Saw mill at Queensbury for Moses Clement" copy whereof I transmit with this letter. It appears therefrom that a Sawmill had been built in the summer of 1764.

In the no. of Sept. 13, among the Grand Jurors at the First County Court at Fort Edward, I find the name of Joseph McCrackin.

He was commissioned Captain in the 2nd N. Y. Continentals, commanded by Col. Vanschaack, 28 June 1775, and was stationed about Skeenesboro and Ticonderoga; was recommissioned in same regiment 21 Nov. 1776, lost an arm at the Battle of Monmouth 28 June 1778; was appointed Major of the 4th N. Y. Continentals 29 May 1779, and resigned his commission 11 April 1780. On 31 March 1781 he was appointed Commissioner for detecting and defeating conspiracies within this State, and on 24 July 1782, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Charlotte County Regiment of Militia.

Colonel McCracken died 5 May, 1825. (9).

Should I find other matter to interest you, it will afford me much pleasure to communicate it. Meanwhile I remain,

Respectfully yours,

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

A. W. HOLDEN, ESQ. M. D.

Glens Falls,
N. Y.

The Joseph McCracken mentioned by Dr. O'Callaghan was one of the signers of the petition despatched to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, on June 10, 1775, from Crown Point. His name has heretofore been given by the writer as one of the additional men with Allen at Ticonderoga.

Regarding Col. McCracken, Judge James Gibson, of Salem, says: The life of Col. Joseph McCracken was so intertwined with the rise and progress of Salem that it cannot be fairly written separately. He was an integral part of the town over fifty years. His only surviving grandchild that I know of is Mrs. Mathews, now living in Sandy Hill, aged 86 years, and highly intelligent. She is the mother of Mrs. Baker, the wife of Editor Baker, and keeps her own house. I would like you could see her. She has, as

Note No. 9.—See additional list Allen's men by J. A. H.

I judge, some of the noble characteristics of her Grandsire. (Letter to Hon. A. W. Holden, Oct. 2, 1874).

William Gilliland, mentioned in the O'Callaghan letter, claimed in a petition to the Continental Congress in 1777, that he was "The first person who laid a plan for and determined upon seizing Ticonderoga, C. Point and the King's armed vessel, & therewith the entire command of Lakes George & Champlain. That by means of your memst. an unhappy dispute wh subsisted between Mr. Allen and Mr. Arnold (the then rival Heads of our handful of people on L. Champlain) was composed. In consequence of weh your memst (besides several other matters) took the Liberty of recommending to your honors, the embodying the Green Mountain boys. Col. Allen delivered the letter." (Watson's Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley, pp. 175-176).

There was a well circulated tradition that William Gilliland, who was the pioneer of the Champlain Valley settlements, at this time living at Willsboro, in company with Colonel Allen and Colonel Skene had planned to establish a royal colony, which was to contain the New Hampshire Grants, and Colonel Skene was absent in England on this errand at the time, returning just in time to be made a prisoner at Philadelphia. The matter is spoken of as an established fact in Ira Allen's History, heretofore referred to, pp. 360-361. (It is more than probable that John Brown stopped with Gilliland on his journey northward in the winter, and there heard from Gilliland, for the first time, of the advantages of seizing Ticonderoga. Gilliland, might easily have arranged with Brown at this time, who says in his letter, "I have established a channel of correspondence through the grants which may be depended upon," to get word to the Green Mountain Boys, the people whom Brown said were to undertake the affair. Gilliland could have managed this through the medium of Peleg Sunderland of the Grants a noted hunter and guide, and his companion Winthrop Hoyt, who were Brown's guides on this journey. (Hiland Hall's History of Vermont, pp. 467-71). (Brown's letter in Force, 4th Series, Vol. II, pp. 443-45. For Sunderland, see Chittenden's address, pp. 94-99.) Gilliland was a remarkable character whose life story reads like a romance, but cannot be given in detail here.

IV. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

(The following letter refers mostly to the Town of Queensbury, so those matters have been elided):

Albany 30, Dec., 1867.

My dear sir,

I received in course your letter of the 20th instant, and as an installment, sent you last week a sketch of the biographies of Col. Duer and Col. Romans.

The latter, I now find, was at Hartford, Ct., 28th April 1775, when the plan was formed there to sieze Ticonderoga and he & other gentlemen set out from there, and eventually one party marched against Ticonderoga; another against Skeensborough (Whitehall) and subsequently, on the 12 May, he took possession of Fort George. You can compare these dates with that of the capture of the first mentioned fort. The date, 12 April '75, Col. Doc. VIII, 597 is wrong. It ought to be "May." I note the Vols. in your library, and know nothing to suggest as an addition, except Spark's edition of Writings or Letters of Gen. Washington 12 vols., and Letters to Washington 4 Vols, all 8vo, published in Boston. John Adam's Letters published by the Govt. at Washington, may have something. You will do well to consult Force's Archives, 8 vols folio. They were printed at the expense of the Govt. and possibly some of the former Representatives in Congress from your district may possess a copy.

I have rec'd Glens Falls Messenger 20 Dec. 1867. The petition of Nordbergh already sent you, solves the difficulty you may have experienced respecting him. I regret I cannot throw any further light at present on "Daniel Parks". I shall bear the name in mind, and if I discover anything respecting him will communicate it.

I shall overhaul the Records of Indian Treaties in the Secretary's office again, though with little hope of finding any minute of that Indian Treaty at Fort George. Meanwhile, I find in Force's Archives, 4 Series, Vol. 5, p 981, the following extract of a letter from Fort George, dated 18 April 1776.

"This day arrived with their interpreter (Mr. Deane) the Indian delegates of the Seven Tribes in Canada, from the Congress

of the Six Nations at Onondaga. I was introduced to, and had the honor to take them by the hand. Deane says, they have resolved to observe a strict neutrality and have appointed deputies to attend our Indian Commissioners at Albany, and may be daily expected there''.

V---FROM DR. F. B. HOUGH.

The particulars of the Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen are in Force's Archives and are such substantially as narrated by Bancroft. Allen and Arnold entered the fort *pari passu*. Col. Eaton afterward claimed that honor, but Capt. Delaplace answered and denounced the pretensions. I'll copy Delaplace for you if you like. It is only a few lines.

You have in this letter an answer as to the circumstances which led Romans to go to Fort George. I have already sent you his biography. Enclosed is the extract I copied in pencil from Force. * * *

I believe I have disposed now of your queries and when I look over the Indian Treaties will again report.

I have a remonstrance of Wm. Duer to the N. Y. Convention against the election of Delegates for Charlotte Co., 1776, but as this is not within your limit, I have not sent it, and shall not unless you request it.

Yours very truly,
E. B. O'CALLIGAN.

A. W. Holden, Esq., M. D.,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

P. S.—I receive today a letter from the Rev. Mr. DeCosta of New York City. As a curious coincidence he makes the same enquiries about Nordberg and Daniel Parks, which I have already answered in my letter to you. I suppose he is one of your correspondents.

Glen of Glens Falls, settled at Chambly, in Canada, where and at Montreal I think there are some of his descendants. A Dr. Glen was a fellow student with me at the latter place.

There was a local tradition to the effect that there was a convention of Indian Chiefs at the head of Lake George about this

time to arrange for a Treaty of Peace. This is the matter referred to in the foregoing letter. The date of this convention however is definitely settled by the following communication:

Lowville, April 23, 1869.

Dr. A. W. Holden,

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 16th of Feb. is found by me on my return from a long absence. I cannot *here*, speak *certainly* as to what papers there may be extant at Albany concerning the Treaty at Lake George with the Canada Indians about 1794. It was abortive and not consummated till 1796.

See my Hist. St. Lawrence and Franklin, p. 128. Assembly Journal, 1794, p. 93, 129, 132, &c.

Seek also in "*Clinton Papers*," State Library, for data of this period. I have some papers among my Mss. but am absolutely unable to refer to them, having just been appointed "in charge of U. S. Census," and with a pressing amount of work before me.

The "Indian Treaties" do not come down to this date, but the Mss. referred to above, embrace later materials than those printed. In haste,

Yours,

F. B. HOUGH.

VI. EXTRACT FROM DR. O'CALLAGHAN'S LETTER, JANUARY 4th, 1868.

"I do not think Capt. Mott, Art. IX, was on his way *from* Ticonderoga with his company. It is stated in Duer's letter that he was going *to* Ticonderoga, when stopped by Duer. The letter dated 5 June was laid before the Com. of Safety in New York the 11 July. Duer had intelligence on the 21st May of the proposed attempt to close the Courts at Fort Edward, and prevailed on Capt. Mott, then on his way to Ticonderoga to halt his men. Mott had plenty of time to go afterward to Ticonderoga and then to reach New York.

At p. 27, Journal of N. Y. Convention, Vol. 2, is an application from one Gershom Mott, dated New York, June 6, 1775, for a Captain's Commission. He was appointed Capt. of a company

in the 1st 114 Continentals 28 June, 1775, was appointed Capt. in Nicholson's regt. in Canada 15 April, '75, and served in the Canada Campaign. See *Life of Lamb* (Col John), in whose regiment of artillery this Gershom Mott was commissioned Captain Jan. 1, 1777, and served to the end of the war, and had a grant of 1800 acres in the Military Townships of Brutus, Cincinnatus & Ovid.

I mention these particulars and dates in order to enable you to determine the point of identity between him and Edward."

VII. FROM DR. B. O. CALLAGHAN.

Albany, 6 Jan'y, 1868.

Dear Sir:

I sent you a package of Ms. Notes today, which I hope will at least show you how much I am interested in your literary labor.

You asked me if Captain Edward Mott, whose letter from Force's Archives dated Shoreham, Vt., 11 May, 1775, was the same Capt. Mott mentioned in your Art. IX as being at Fort Edward about the 5th of June and whether he was on his way *to or from* Ticonderoga at that time.

I gave it as my opinion that he was on his way *to* that Fort, and added some information respecting Capt. Gershom Mott.

I find now these particulars respecting the latter, are irrelevant to the subject you relate, and that the Capt. Motte of Duer's letter was Edward.

Here are the proofs, Duer says:

"As Capt. Motte is on his way to your congress, I esteem myself bound in gratitude to mention his alacrity in supporting good order within your Province, not doubting that such a line of conduct will recommend him to your attention, "Journal of N. Y. Prov. Convention 1, 72.

On p. 74 and same Vol. is a letter from Col. Benj. Hinman to N. Y. Congress dated Ticonderoga, July 3, 1775, wherein, after relating the ruinous condition of the Fort, he goes on to say:

"Captain Edward Motte, who, will wait on you with this, will give you further information."

Now, both Duer's and Hinman's letters were read in the Committee of Safety in New York on the same day, 11 July, showing that Captain Edward Motte, was the bearer of both despatches.

The letter of Col. Hinman also shows that Motte was at Ticonderoga on the 3rd July, whence it is conclusive that when he met Duer he was on his way *to* that place.

Hinman's letter also mentions the arrival on the 2nd July at the Fort of Lt. Col. Samuel Motte, "who is appointed engineer by the Colony of Connecticut," and has taken a survey of this place and of Fort George. ^(10.)

Whether Samuel and Edward were relatives, I have no means at hand of ascertaining.

Yours,
E. B. O'CALLIGHAN.

Dr. Holden,

Glens Falls, N. Y.

The manuscript referred to in the above communication consists chiefly of excerpts from Force's Archives and various authorities on the Expedition which have already been referred to. The majority of them not being within the scope of this article. The William Duer referred to was an exceedingly distinguished resident of Washington County, although of English birth. He was a great friend of Philip Schuyler, and erected saw, grist, and snuff mills at Fort Miler, N. Y., and later on a powder mill. He had also a spacious mansion, his wife, "Lady Kitty" Duer, a daughter of Lord Sterling, being one of the noted belles of the colony. He was appointed second judge of Charlotte County (Philip Schuyler being the first judge) and held the last royal court in that county before the Revolution, June 20, 1775. The inhabitants of the Hampshire Grants had made a mockery of Charlotte County justice, even to the extent of trying, without success, to mob the court and prevent trials at Fort Edward in March, and although Colonel Duer knew an attempt would be made by the mob to break up his courts in June, he notified them he intended to hold court even at the risk of his life. ^(11.)

Note No. 10.—Force's Archives Fourth Series, Vol. II, pp. 1538-39.

Note 11.—Holden's Hist. of Queensbury, page 403; Bench and Bar Washington County, Hon. James Gibson, Salem Review Press, 1888; Johnson's Hist. Washington County, page 40; Stone's Washington County, pp. 135-136.

In order to clear up this point the following from Force is inserted here:

WILLIAM DUER TO NEW YORK CONGRESS

Fort Miller, June 5, 1775.

Sir:—I esteem it a duty which I owe to the Province to inform you that my apprehensions with respect to the designs of the people in this County to stop the courts of justice, were not ill founded. A party of the people on the NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, strengthened by some persons of desperate fortunes and characters in the western districts, had formed a resolution of abolishing the law; and to effect their purpose, had actually marched on their way to Fort Edward. Yesterday fortnight I had intelligence of their design, and by a lucky incident put a stop to their proceedings, at least for the present.

Captain MOTT, who is the bearer of this, was marching his company to join the forces at TICONDEROGA. I mentioned to him the intelligence I had received, and applied to him for his assistance. This gentleman coincided with myself in opinion of the absolute necessity there was of keeping up at least the shadow of order and justice, and detained his company at Fort Edward in order to protect the Bench. The riotous party getting information of this unlooked for relief, desisted from their attempt.

As Captain MOTT is on his way to your Congress, etc. [See Dr. O'Callaghan's letter Jan. 4, 1868]. * * *

Your interposition in this matter may save the spilling of blood the next Court, for so long as I know it to be the sense of the Country that the courts of Justice should be supported, and that I have the honor of sitting as one of the Judges, I shall endeavor to keep them open even at the risk of my life. I am, Sir, with respect, your obedient humble servant, Wm. Duer.

To Peter Van Burgh Livingston, Esq., President of the Provincial Congress at New York. (American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. II, 1775, pp. 910-11.)

Whether Lieut. Colonel Samuel Mott, engineer of the colony

of Connecticut, and who served as an engineer at Ticonderoga under Colonel Hinman and Gen. Schuyler, was a relative of Edward Mott, the writer, like Dr. O'Callaghan, has no means of determining.

In 1776 Colonel Mott was stationed in August, September, October and November at Skenesborough, Fort Ann, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He probably received his appointment on account of his familiarity with this section of the country. (12.)

As Dr. O'Callaghan says, Captain Mott would have had plenty of time to have been at Fort Edward on June 20th, and in New York the 11th of July. In fact, John Brown riding express brought the news of the Capture of Ticonderoga to the Committee of Safety at Albany May 12th. He appeared before the Continental Congress at Philadelphia May 17th. While Captain Phelps reported to the Connecticut Assembly May 27th, at which time the Assembly wrote to the Massachusetts Congress, "they were sending four companies at once to march to Ti." (Archives pp. 17-19.) Therefore there would have been no physical difficulty to prevent Captain Mott from meeting this company anywhere between Albany and Connecticut and marching to Ticonderoga with them.

Judge Duer must have accompanied Captain Mott to Ticonderoga for we find Walter Spooner, one of the special envoys, from the colony of Massachusetts to Ticonderoga, commending Judge Duer—for helping to quell the mutiny among Arnold's men after the Massachusetts Committee had relieved Arnold of his command. (13.)

VIII. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Jan'y 22, '68.

Dear Sir:

I have asked old Mrs. McKean about Clemons or Clements' mill in Queensbury, but she never heard of any such. Mr. Beman

Note No. 12.—Orderly Book of Capt. Ichabod Norton, by Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, 1898.

Note No. 13.—Spooner to Governor Trumbull, 4th Archives II, pp. 1540-41, also to New York Congress, pp. 1539-40.

was certainly mistaken as to Benedict Arnold not being at the Capture of Ticonderoga. Beman was a mere boy and probably did not learn all the facts because not pushed forward on the entry which was effected by Allen jumping on the sentinel's back, seizing his musket, threatening into silence and entering a wicket gate; Arnold being at his side. Those facts I learned from Captain Ashley (formerly of Poultney) who was, by marriage, a relative of Allen and acted as his aide at the capture. Ashley appeased the quarrel between Allen and Arnold at Castleton. That quarrel was undoubtedly renewed at Ti. Beman witnessed the outbreak that he described as having occurred on the temporary floating bridge between Ti and Mount Independence (afterwards so named). Arnold wished to remove the captured cannon to Cambridge, according to the purpose of his mission or expedition thwarted by Allen's previous march from Bennington. Allen wished to use those cannon for defense of Lake Champlain and attack on Montreal if not Quebec. The State of New York, however, took charge of the cannon and so indiscreetly disposed of them that cannon to fortify Ti. were in 1776 and 1777 actually obtained in Albany.

On Thursday evening I am to repeat at Ballston Spa., my statement concerning Lura Boies' life, poetry and genius. ^(14.) Mrs. Boies writes to me that she has received money enough to pay off the purchase price mortgage, but we wish a little more to finish at least another room in her *home*, for now it may properly be so termed. The recent agitation has brought the book (*Rural Rhymes*) into demand, and I have therefore advised her to keep a supply at Glens Falls and other places accessible to purchasers, Fortsville being really a sequestered spot. Thus on that subject all is well that has ended well and Mrs. Boies feels very grateful to you, Mr. Coffin, and other friends who have rendered assistance.

Res'y,

Jan. 22, 1868.

Doc. A. W. Holden,

Glens Falls, Warren Co., N. Y.

WM. HAY, Sar. Spr'gs,

Note No. 14.—Lura Anna Boies, the young and gifted poet of Saratoga County, who in the fruitage of her womanhood was taken away in her twenty-fourth year, was the author of a small book of poems entitled "*Rural Rhymes*," one of the best known of which is "*Jane McCrea*." The Rev. Dr. J. E. King, one of our valued members and Judge Hay did what they could to make the last days of the mother of Miss Boies comfortable, which explains the allusion in the letter.

IX. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Feb'y 2, '68.

Dear Sir:

I am much obliged for the last Glens Falls newspaper containing your article promising an account of Capt. Norberg's capture by Cap'n. Romans at Lake George. Your persistent investigation has been a great success, which I trust will be pursued until all the documents are discovered. May it not be that on his route Roman's may have stopped at South Glens Falls for supplies and been accompanied thence to Fort George by some of the Parks family. One of their number being left in charge of the Fort as he surely was when the murder was perpetrated at South Glens Falls. The Fort (George) was abandoned by retirement to Diamond Island of all the British troops (two companies) as soon as Burgoyne's communication with Lake George was interrupted by his advance toward Behmus Heights. It is therefore improbable that the Parks seized Fort George in 1777. I shall wait, with anxiety for your next publication. Do you locate the clearing which was four miles from Ft. Edward? It may have been where old Abraham Wing settled (the present William Macdonald farm). (15.) And that where old Enos Curtiss resided (the present Parsons farm), (16.) Was the last clearing (3 miles from Lake George) near Bloody Pond, or at Fort Williams, a half mile south east of George Brown's tavern. (17.)

Res'y,

WM. HAY,

Feb. 22, 1868.

Doc. Holden,

Glens Falls, N. Y.

What think you of my conjecture that the Clement mill may have been located a half mile below Glens Falls and on the site of the old Benjamin Wing and Enos Curtiss saw mill (which I well remember) to which a road conducted from the house of old Abraham Wing, Benjamin's father? Perhaps in 1764 there was no

Note No. 15.—Where the Glens Falls Home now stands.

Note No. 16.—Now the Keenan Farm near the Warren Street Railroad Crossing, Glens Falls.

Note No. 17.—Now as then celebrated as the Halfway House between Glens Falls and Lake George.

other road to the falls (Glens then, or soon after Wing's) on the north shore of the Hudson.

W. H.

It is not passing strange that Laplace at Ticonderoga should have been *surprised* after Roman's seizure of Fort George. W. H. (18.)

X. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

In a letter from Dr. O'Callaghan dated Jan. 4, 1868, we take the following referring to Fort George: "On 21 or 22 June, 1759, Gen. Amherst arrived at Lake George. The rear of his camp was where the old Fort stood, and on the 22nd Lieut. Spencer, Engineer, was ordered to see what is to be done for immediate defense. Working hours were from 5 to 11 and from 3 to 7. 30 June 200 masons and 300 workmen to parade tomorrow morning to work for the Engineer. The number of workmen was afterward advanced to 450 and were employed daily on the works until the 20 July, when orders were issued to start on the following morning at 2 o'clock for Ticonderoga. Col. Montrossor was chief engineer of Amherst's Expedition and he superintended the erection of Fort George at the head of Lake George in July, 1759. *Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book, Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan*, pp. 40-86. It was called Fort George after the King of England then on the throne. It is called "Fort George in the entries of 28th July, 1759. (19.)

XI. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Dear Sir:

I regret that I have not yet found time for our rambles about Queensbury. I accidentally saw the last Feb. number of the (New York) Historical Magazine. It contains Revd. B. F. DeCosta's article relative to "Daniel Parks and the Capture of Fort George." I have sent to that Magazine's editor and proprietor, Mr. Dawson

Note No. 18.—The Parks matter to which Judge Hay alludes will be discussed at a little more length in the chapter which is to close this article under the head of "The Capture of Fort George in 1775."

Note No. 19.—The Montrossor Journals, Coll. N. Y. Hist. Socy. for 1881, pp. 11-12, etc.

of Morrisiana, a correction of Mr. DeCosta's errors. The same number contains Hiland Hall's communication concerning "the New York Dellius' Patent." I have also answered Mr. Hall's misstatements. Whether Dawson will publish my communications I know not. ^(20.) Wm. L. Stone informs me that his edition of Gen'l Reidsel will be issued in a few days. Last night I had a call from B. C. Butler. ^(21.) He told me that his book is being printed in Albany where last winter he conversed much with Doc. O'Callaghan, who referred him to many manuscript authorities and two books in the state library. Butler's compilation may therefore be useful to you, as it refers to the Town of Queensbury. Butler informs me that (on Hiram Rockwell's ⁽²²⁾ request which originated Butler's Book, he has added a map (copied from that in the Colonial Documents) and from which he made as to Fort William Henry an actual survey, which I find corresponds substantially with the old Continental map the lines of which were traced by General Hoyt. I pointing out to him the various lines and batteries. Since I began this letter I have received Wm. L. Stone's translation of Reidsel in 2 thin volumes. After reading them I will send them to you. I am pleased that Warren County and its vicinity are receiving so much investigation, which must furnish considerable material for your proposed work. It will, of course, be more complete from the necessary delay in preparation and publication. You fortunately are possessed of the required patience and diligence for thorough scrutiny. I have made an arrangement for publishing my Burgoyne's Campaign next year. And shall not regret even another year's delay. Frequent correction of error satisfies me that no historical work should be printed until after considerable postponement and frequent review.

Note No. 20.—Judge Hay's articles were published in full in *Historical Magazine* for April, 1868, pp. 251-252, Dellius Patent, and May, 1868, pp. 310-311, Fort George and Daniel Parks.

Note 21.—B. C. Butler was a prominent resident of Warren County at this time, living at Luzerne, N. Y. He was a man of ability, a trifle eccentric, but an enjoyable person to foregather with. He published his work on Lake George and Lake Champlain in 1868, it having several editions. He represented Warren county in the Assembly in 1860.

Note 22.—Hiram J. Rockwell then of Luzerne, later of the Rockwell House, Glens Falls, afterwards of Troy, and for many years at the Kenmore and Ten Eyck, Albany, came of a famous hotel-keeping family, and as a boniface had a reputation that was nation wide. The family name is ably sustained by his son, F. W. Rockwell, of Albany, &c.

"Bide your time" is an indispensable rule of authorship. My lack of means luckily, although unpleasantly inculcate that duty of delay.

Res'y,
WM. HAY,
Sara. Springs,
June 10, 1868.

Doc. A. W. Holden,
Warren County,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

It is to be regretted that Judge Hay's "Historical Novel concerning Burgoyne's Campaign," was never published except in the Glens Falls Republican for 1869. While partly fiction the historical foot notes are invaluable to the local historians of Warren, Washington and Saratoga Counties.

XII. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

June 13, '68.

Dear Sir:

Dominie DeCosta sent to me his prospectus, but I did not know till now that he had published. He is all over priest and has in a lecture at the east attempted to prove that Ethan Allen had little to do with the Capture of Ticonderoga. DeCosta seems just now to have discovered, what we all knew long ago, that others aided and that the Allen's (especially Ira), was in sham negotiations with the British relative to the controversy between this state and the Hampshire Grants. I will send to you the Feb'y number of the Historical Magazine, the Editor of which I fear may not publish my answer to DeCosta, who seems to be a regular contributor. Those magazines are too much controlled by cliques. * * * I had not until receipt of your letter heard of Doc. Fitch's Church History (²³); but presume that he will publish in Albany, because Salem has no book-printing establishment, only a newspaper. "Burgoyne's Campaign" is the title of Charles Neilson's history, which is a very creditable book; except that he

Note No. 23.—Dr. Asa Fitch, Scientist, Historian and Scholar. His history of Washington Co. appears in the transactions of the New York Agricultural Society for 1848-49.

is too anxious to locate on his father's farm all important occurrences and more too. I will not forget the Plattsburg Campaign of 1814. I believe old Capn. Ashley was called "Uncle Tom" but I am not positive because I have got him confounded with Stephen Ashley, who removed from Troy to Sandy Hill. I intend to visit Poultney and will then be able to tell you all about him. I recollect however that he acted as ensign in the Ticonderoga expedition. The first postmaster I recollect at Glens Falls was John A. Ferriss, subsequently reappointed. At the time of Emmon's appointment who (if I recollect right), was succeeded by Adonijah Emmons, and James Henderson became postmaster at the Oneida, but whether he was the first postmaster there I know not. Orange Ferriss (²⁴) can obtain from the P. O. Department a complete list. I have no documentary testimony as to Fort Gage; but believe he was at Lake George with Amherst and perhaps with Abercrombie. I will look at Gage's biography. I remember that he mismanaged in Johnson's western expedition of 1756. * * * [Matter relating to Glenn family and Queensbury omitted]. I never heard that Carleton's raid caused the destruction of any other building except the old Jones house and a few more in that vicinity. Of course I do not include many in Ballston burned by Col. Munroe, who had been by Carleton detached from Bulwagga Bay.

Resp'y,

WM. HAY,

Sar. Sp'gs,

June 13, 1868.

Doc. A. W. Holden,

Glens Falls,

Warren Co., N. Y.

Captain Ashley, to whom Judge Hay has referred, is mentioned in Bascom's list of Ethan Allen's men. His correct christian name was Thomas, and a silhouette of this old warrior, with a sketch appears in the Journal of American History of 1909, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 602-603.

Judge Hay mentions the name of the first postmaster at Glens

Note No. 24.—Hon. Orange Ferriss, of Glens Falls, son of J. A. Ferriss, was a student of Wm. Hay. He was County Judge from 1851 to 1863. Representative in Congress 1866-70. Commissioner Southern Claims Division for years. 2nd Auditor of the Treasury under President Harrison.

Falls. Mr. Ferriss' bond, with others, has been presented to this Association by Postmaster Edward Reed, by permission of the Post Office Department at Washington.

The writer hopes the publication of these letters may invest the capture of Ticonderoga with a little human interest throwing as they do, entertaining little side lights on the men and events of that time.

THE CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE IN 1775.

In the Holden correspondence will be found a number of references to Bernard Romans and to Daniel Parks, the alleged captor of Fort George at the head of Lake George, N. Y., in connection with the Ticonderoga Expedition. Judge Hay and Dr. DeCosta excoriated each other with caustic pens because Charlotte County, through its pioneer, Daniel Parks, sought to reap a little glory out of this exploit ⁽¹⁾. It has remained for the writer to find from an unexpected source, confirmation of an old fire-side tradition, and to deduce probable proof to clear away the inconsistencies which bothered my father and the local historians of his day.

Just below the dam at Hudson Falls, N. Y. (until the spring of 1910 known as Sandy Hill), is the sightly cement bridge of the Union Bag and Paper Company stretching from its mill in Hudson Falls across the Hudson to its big plant at Fenimore in Saratoga County. Until the installation of the mills and up to within a very few years the spot was known as "Parks Ferry," from its original settlers, and an old ferry was operated here for a great many years.

Let us turn from this spot a moment to connect Col. Romans with our story.

Col. Bernard Romans was a Hollander by birth, removing to England when he became a competent engineer, then emigrating to the Southern Colonies before the Revolution. He served as official botanist in Florida, where he lived from 1763 to '73, publishing

Note No. 1.—See Dawson's Historical Magazine, N. S., Vol. III, for Feb'y, 1868. DeCosta on Parks matter, p. 95; id. May 1868, Wm Hay, reply to DeCosta, pp. 310-311; Vol. V, Jan'y, 1869, DeCosta in rebuttal pp. 51-52.

a book on that province in 1775. He was employed that same year by the province of New York, under direction of the Committee of Safety, to construct defences in the Highlands. He also served his adopted country in various capacities, meantime publishing several learned treatises up to 1780, when he was captured by the British while on ship-board and held a prisoner at Jamaica till 1783. He either died or was killed on his return passage to this country. "He left behind him a high character as a professional man and as an author." (2)

How he became connected with this "Expedition to Ti," is not known. He however must have been in Connecticut at the time. The original idea of the promoters of the scheme in that colony seemed to contemplate Col. Romans taking charge of the whole matter. He had already started when Capt. Mott, who appears to have been a rather aggressive and bumptious individual, and anxious to show his authority on all occasions, set out under authority of the Connecticut Committee to overtake Col. Romans. The latter, judging from his later record, appears to have been a very competent officer, but with a too "highly strung" and highly organized nervous temperament. Possibly Mott got on his nerves, as he did on those of Arnold later. At any rate Romans left the Connecticut party at Pittsfield, much to Mott's pleasure, who says, they were glad to see the last of him. (Conn. Hist. Col., Vol. I, p. 109, also compare Mott's Journal), and proceeded to perform a separate exploit, by capturing Fort George.

We will now try to link together the conflict of testimony between the Parks legend of Judge Hay and Dr. DeCosta's claim that Romans alone took Fort George, and that Parks had nothing to do with it.

In order to do this the writer will use, without apology or quotation marks, a published account of the Parks affair from the pen of his father, Dr. A. W. Holden: (3)

Note No. 2.—Holden's Queensbury, p. 397.

Note No. 3.—Another account of the Parks family is given by N. B. Sylvester as follows:

To secure the names of the few families said to have been in the town of Moreau before the Revolution, with dates of settlement, has been a work of considerable difficulty. The following account is pretty well authenticated. There may be names not secured, but those who are mentioned in the following pages are believed to be correctly given.

Elijah Parks came from Salisbury, Conn., in 1776, and in connection with his sons—a part of them already married—purchased eight hundred

At the time of the capture of the fortress at Ticonderoga, by Ethan Allen, May 10, 1775, or rather a few days later, a party of the sons of liberty, assembled at Kingsbury Street, and made some preparations to celebrate the event, by building a bonfire and other hilarious demonstrations. A party of Tories hearing of the intended event, rushed in, scattered and extinguished the bonfire, and with angry threats and some violence dispersed the assemblage, and so intimidated the friends of the colonial cause, that but little attempt was made by the Whigs of Kingsbury to exhibit their predilections until after Burgoyne's surrender, when most of the Tories escaped to Canada.

CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE.

After the close of the French war, and at some period prior to the settlement at Bakers Falls, the fort at the head of Lake George and the intermediate posts and blockhouses were abandoned. The forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point being of more substantial construction, were considered an adequate protection on a frontier no longer threatened by the annual incursions of the Indians, and the no less savage half-breed settlers of the Canadian border. At the time of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Allen and Arnold, and of the expedition of Capt. Herrick, Fort George, which had been partially dismantled, was inhabited by an invalid British

acres of land at South Glens Falls. Elijah built the dwelling-house, afterwards known as the "old castle", and a saw-mill about on the site of the present lower mill of the Morgan Lumber Company. His son Daniel settled on the flat down the river, the present Bentley place. Lewis Brown, a son-in-law, and Ephraim Parks had another house near that of Elijah, above the old castle, a double log house. These were the first houses at South Glens Falls, and perhaps the first in town. It is said there were families between Fort Miller and Fort Edward on the west side of the river when the Revolutionary war broke out, but the dates and names are very difficult to obtain; and as the date of the Parks emigration is well settled by records in the hands of Merwin Parks, Esq., 1766, as given above, this very likely constituted the first opening in the forest of Moreau. In 1775, when the news of Lexington was stirring the blood of Americans all over the land, about the same time that Colonel Ethan Allen was thundering at the gates of Ticonderoga in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, Daniel Parks, a man of gigantic stature, "born to command", gathered a few neighbors from Fort Edward and, without any pretense of orders from Congress or anybody else, not claiming even the authority given by Colonel Allen, pushed through the woods nine miles, and demanded and received the keys of Fort George. This is the tradition in the Parks family, and it is well sustained by the fact that upon Daniel Parks' tombstone, who died in 1818, there is the following inscription: "One of the veterans of the Revolutionary war. He was the man that took the keys from the British officer at Lake George in 1775". (Extract from History of Saratoga County, by Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, 1878—Moreau—page 422.

The key business is what stirred the gorge of Dr. DeCosta, and what the writer believes capable of a rational explanation.

officer—a captain by the name of John Nordberg, and two others named John McComb and Hugh McAuley, who are supposed to have been formerly soldiers, and remained possibly as pensioners and adherents of the British government. Their duties seem to have been the care and supervision of the fortifications and structures hereabout, and to lend such aid and assistance as might be needed in forwarding messages, expediting expresses and the transmission of orders between the military headquarters at Albany and Montreal. A tradition in the Parks family, resident at the bend of the river, in the town of Moreau, opposite from Sandy Hill, associates the name of their ancestors with this capture. Across the river, nearly opposite to but above the dam where the mills are now erected, and quite a distance from the banks of the stream, in a sheltered, sequestered nook, is located

THE PARKS FAMILY BURIAL GROUNDS.

Here, on one of the few modest marble slabs marking the resting place of the dead, is one containing the following inscription:

In memory of
DANIEL PARKS,
Who departed this life March the 3d,
1818, aged 78,
One of the Veterans of the Revolutionary
War. He was the man who took the
key from the British officer at
Lake George in 1775.

Whether Parks on his own motion and with the aid of a few volunteer patriots, accomplished this act, or whether it was done by the command of some superior authority, there is now no documentary or historical evidence to prove. At all events, by the showing herein given, sustained by family tradition, the name of Daniel Parks remains enrolled among the minor heroes of the Revolution, as a friend of the colonies and liberty.

THE PARKS MASSACRE.

Whether it was a sequel to this enterprise and a retaliation therefor, since as family tradition has it, the officer at Fort George

told Parks "he would be sorry for making this capture," or instigated by a private or personal feud; or, what is more probable, one of those frequent marauding incursions which, from time to time, at irregular intervals, occurred along the Northern frontier, instigated by Tory malevolence and partisan hatred, there happened at some time between this event and the close of the Revolutionary War the following massacre, of which a brief detail is handed down to us in

THE FAMILY TRADITION

There was in the British army a captain by the name of Daniel Parks, who took an active part in quelling and reducing to subjection the aboriginal and savage inhabitants of the American continent prior to the Revolutionary War, whose residence was in one of the Southern States, probably Virginia. This theory is warranted by the fact that the Parks family were prominent in the early Virginia annals, associated with the Washington and Custis families. A son of this original ancestor, also named Daniel Park, removed and settled in Salisbury, Connecticut, where he resided until a few years prior to the Revolution, when he removed to Wing's Falls (now Glens Falls), Charlotte County, N. Y., where he purchased a tract of eight hundred acres of land, situated along the south bank of the Hudson river, and settled there, erecting the first mills and dwellings at that locality. About the year 1777, while the Revolutionary War was in progress, and the country was swarming with predatory and marauding bands of savages and Tories, his house, which stood on the brow of the hill above the paper mill, was assaulted at night by a band of these miscreants. They demanded the keys to his desk and secretary, where he kept his papers and valuables. The old man refused to deliver them. Thereupon one of the band clinched him, upon which a scuffle ensued, which resulted in getting the old man down, when one of the party drew up and shot him. He was supposed by the family to have been at that time about seventy-five years of age, and he thus died in defending himself against British aggression.

Among this band was a Tory of the name of Richardson, who lived in that vicinity, and who had purchased of the old man Parks

a piece of land containing about one hundred acres, for which Parks held his obligations, and it is confidently believed that the murderous wretches were incited to the commission of this diabolical act of cruelty by a desire to get possession of Richardson's obligation, and thus have his land free from the incumbrance.

ELISHA AND ISAAC PARKS.

sons of the old man above mentioned, resided with their father, but the attack of the Tories was so sudden that they, not being at hand, were unable to render the old man any assistance, and when they arrived on the scene of action, and entered the house, they found their father dead, and his assassins apparently gone. They struck a light, and hearing a noise, Elisha, a young married man, went to the door, holding a candle or lantern in his hand, to make a reconnaissance. The door was one of the kind which opened half way down, and as he bent over the lower half he made a conspicuous target for the rifles of the Tories, still lurking in ambush among the bushes at the end of the house. He was shot while his wife stood by his side, across the abdomen, and his bowels gushed out. Holding them up as he could, he with his wife and brother, escaped from the house, and fled down the river to the home of his brother Daniel, who lived about a mile down the river on the clearing now known as the Bentley Place. Not knowing the further purpose of the assassins Daniel, with his family and wounded brother, made their way to the river, which they hastened to cross in a canoe, taking refuge for the night in the Baker mill, at the head of the falls. During the night Elisha died, and his remains and those of his father were buried on the site of the Presbyterian church. It being the beginning of the first burial ground on Sandy Hill, it is stated traditionally that the stones which marked their place of

Note No. 4.—Dr. Holden's authority was Daniel E. Parks, attorney and counselor at law, at that time, 1874, but lately removed from Sandy Hill. He had it from his father Barzella, who had it from his father Solomon, son of Daniel. Dr. H. is inclined to the belief however, that the massacre occurred in 1776, in which he is supported by two other family statements. Dr. H. believes it associated with the escape of Sir. John Johnson and his tory gang to Canada in that year. (Holden Mss. Notes in C. P. Book.)

Note No. 4.—Shortly after the Revolution the Parks family returned and the head of it built a house known locally for many years as "The Castle". This old house has only this present year been demolished by its now owner, George H. Childs, who started to tear it down in March, 1910, to give place to a modern structure. A number of relics of Revolutionary days were said to have been found in the process of demolition.

sepulcher forms a part of the foundations of the church above their graves.

Some of the neighbors at the Baker place (Narrative of the Baker Family), tried to institute a pursuit, but before the militia could be rallied the marauders were so far away on their retreat that pursuit was useless. The effect of this raid was to break up for some years the settlement on the south side of the river, then known as the Parks Mills. On the following morning Daniel procured a team, and removed his family with such household furniture as could be readily pushed and transported within the protection of the military force then stationed at Fort Edward. When that post was abandoned by the American army, he retreated with it to Bemis Heights, where he participated as a volunteer in that memorable and eventful engagement.

CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE BY COL. ROMANS.

Col. Romans, as has been said, leaving the Ticonderoga expedition to go its way, followed the well defined trail either to Albany and then back to Fort Edward, or crossed over from the Hampshire Grants. At Fort Edward he picked up some men for we find in his bill to the Colony of Connecticut (published in full in DeCosta's *Lake George, its Scenes and Characteristics*, appendix I), this charge: "To expens on road at Mead^w Runbridge and Fort George: 16 men £ 1. 10." (6.) Undoubtedly the trained engineer, having in mind the transit and conveyance of heavy artillery over the old military road, that being the prime object of the expedition, would seek to get road makers at the nearest point to fix up the bridges over the various brooks and make the rough road easier for the work at hand.

This brings "the conclusion of the whole matter" in sight. In 1879 under the auspices of the New York Historical Society, a Mr. DeLancey, annotated and published "Thomas Jones' History

Note No. 6.—The Meadow run brook, called on military maps Four Mile Creek, or Five Mile Run, because about that distance from the Lake George military posts, was named Meadow run because here was a large beaver meadow, where the first settlers got their hay. (Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 180.)

Note No. 7.—See Arnold's letter to Massachusetts Committee of Safety advising them of Roman's efforts in this direction, and commending him for his services. (Force's *Archives*, Fourth Series, Vol. II, p. 585.)

of New York During the Revolutionary War." Jones being a Tory, and the history giving the Tory side of the controversy. The story of the taking of Fort George is found in the Appendix of Vol. I, among the editor's notes (pp. 549-551), and is herewith given in full:

In a letter from Adiel Sherwood ⁽⁸⁾ to Gov. Tilden of New York, dated "Kirkwood, Missouri, near St. Louis, July, 1875, and endorsed as received at the Executive Department July 17th, 1875, and now filed in Vol. IV, Miscellaneous Mss., in the State Library, giving accounts of Revolutionary incidents he had collected in Northern New York and elsewhere, is the following account of the surprise and capture of Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George by a party of New Yorkers. It is not mentioned in any history, and may explain the reason why Congress ordered there the captured cannon of Fort Ticonderoga.

"About the time Ethan Allen took Ticonderoga, a company of some ten men in the garb of hunters, commanded by Captain Pitcher, the father of Gov. Nathaniel Pitcher, and Samuel Parks as Lieutenant, captured Fort Wm. Henry at the head of Lake George, Only 4 or 5 men were in the Fort, and the object of the Americans was not suspected. These facts I had from Gov. Pitcher in 1835, also from Mr. Parks, who resided in Saratoga Co. just opposite Sandy Hill."

The original Fort William Henry was demolished by Montcalm after he captured it in 1757, and never rebuilt. Fort George, built in its stead afterwards by the English on the rising ground a little to the east of the old site, was, and is, often called William Henry by mistake, and is doubtless the fort so called in the above account.

Governor Nathaniel Pitcher, of New York, the authority for the above account, was in the New York Assembly, 1806, 1815, and 1817; in the Constitutional Convention of 1821. He was elected Lieut.-Governor in 1826, and succeeded to the Governorship on the death of DeWitt Clinton, February 11, 1828, and held the office of

Note No. 8.—See also Holden's *Queensbury*, biographies of Seth and Adiel Sherwood, pp. 119-123.

the unexpired term. He was in the United States Congress from 1814 to 1823, and from 1831 to 1833, and died at Sandy Hill, Washington Co., N. Y., 25th May, 1836, aged 59.—Hough's Am. Biog. Notes p. 326. ⁽⁹⁾

The following relating to Sherwood and incidentally to Ethan Allen and his famous catch phrase is found in a letter (part of which was used in relation to Col. Joseph McCracken) written by the late Judge James Gibson of Salem to Dr. A. W. Holden, Oct. 2, 1874. He says:

Salem, Oct. 2, 1874.

HON. A. W. HOLDEN.

Dear Doctor:

I enclose herewith some notes of the Bradshaw family—whether of importance you can judge, and use accordingly. * * *

In regard to Col. Adiel Sherwood I have been trying to get the perusal of an apology for his surrender of Fort Ann, written by Winfield Scott Sherwood, and published if I recollect right in a newspaper then printed at Glens Falls sometime about 1840.

You know that the belief of the people at the time of that surrender was uniform, that it was a treacherous or *cowardly* act. The former I have never believed—but this latter is more difficult to disbelieve. There were members of his company from this town, who were surrendered as prisoners, and who died in the belief of his misconduct. But you are aware how mistaken oftimes the contemporary popular cry is & therefore will hesitate—examine—before final determination.

I allude to him in his *civil capacity* in my court house address a copy of which I sent you.

I freely acknowledge that there have been times when I have been examining facts of his own stating, in connection with what I had ascertained from himself and from other sources, that have disgusted me, as much as did the perusal of Ethan Allen's four

Note No. 9.—Adiel Sherwood was undoubtedly a lineal descendant of Col. Adiel Sherwood of Fort Edward, who commanded at Fort Ann in 1780 and was forced to surrender to Major Christopher Carleton in the October Invasion of that year. He was severely criticised then for alleged cowardice in surrendering, as Col. John Chipman of "Tl Expedition" fame only gave in at Fort George after a stiff fight. As he was not courtmartialled, however, and later held both military and civil offices of honor and trust, the accusation has long since fallen to the ground as untrue. (Holden's Queensbury, p. 49.)

divers' accounts of how "I took Ticonderoga? & in one of which he gets off the myth of the "Great J. & the Continental Congress" for neither of which he ever had any respect, except when he had a purpose to serve. And I cite his case, as I fear in his diversity of statement, he & Col. Sherwood were alike.

But enough for the present while I remain, yours ever,
JAMES GIBSON.

P. S.—I am trying to locate Chesire's Mills for you, and hope I may succeed.

(Over for Col Sherwood).

Col. Sherwood is buried in the old graveyard in rear of the Baker house at Sandy Hill & his gravestone says:

In memory of Col. Adiel and Sarah Sherwood. He was born Dec., 1749 in Washington, Conn. A Captain in the Revolutionary War; taken prisoner at Fort Ann Oct. 10, 1780; died Dec., 1825. She was born June, 1775. Died March, 1827.

Turning now to Fort George, at this time like Crown Point and Ticonderoga, probably in a tumble down condition, we find it occupied by Capt. John Nordberg, who writes as follows to the New York Provincial Congress: ^(10.)

"THE MOST RESPECTABLE GENTLEMEN,

"PROVINCIAL CONGRESS IN NEW YORK.

"I beg leave to represent to the most respectable Congress this circumstance.

"I am a native of Sweden, and have been persecuted for that, I have been against the French faction there.

"I have been in His Britanick Magesty's Service sinse January 1758.

"I have been twice shot through my body here last war in America, & I am now 65 years old—reduced of age, wounds & and gravels, which may be seen by Doctor Jones's certificate.

"1773. I got permission in Jamaica to go to London where I

Note No. 10.—N. Y. Misc. Papers, Vol. XXXI, p. 15. See DeCosta's "Narrative of Events at Lake George," pp. 47-48 *id.* "Lake George," pp. 120-125; "Holden's History of Queensbury," pp. 400-01.

petition to be an Invalid officer, but as a foreigner I could not enjoy a commission in England, or Ereland His Magisty was graciously pleased to give me the allowance for Fort George 7 shilling sterling per day, with liberty to live where I please in America, because the fort has been abandoned this 8 year and only 2 men remain there for to assist any express going between New York and Canada. I arrived here in New York last year in September with intention to live in New York: as I heard nothing els than disharmony amongst Gentlemen which was not agreeable to my age. I resolved to go to Fort George and live there in a little Cottage as a Hermit, where I was very happy for 6 months.

“The 12 of May last Mr. Romans came & took possession of Fort George, Mr. Romans behaved very genteel and civil to me. I told that I did not belong to the army and may be considered as a half pay officer invalid, and convinced him that I was pleagd with Gravell, Mr. Romans give me his passport to go to New Lebanon for to recover my health, & he told me that in regard to my age, I may go where I please.

“As I can’t sell any bill for my substance, & I can’t live upon wind and weather, I therefore beg and implore the most respectable Congress permission to go to England, and I intend to go to my native country, I could have gone away secret so well as some others have done, but I will not upon any account do such a thing—I hope the most respectable will not do partially to refuse me, because major Etherington, Captain Brown, Captain Kelly which is in the army have been permitted to go to England, and it may happen they return here again on actual Service, which old age & infirmities render me incapable of.

“As it is the custom among the Christian nations and the Turks, that they give substance to every Prisoner according to their Rank should the most respectable Congress, have any claim upon me to be a prisoner here, I hope they will give me my subsistence from th 12 of May last, according to My Rank as Captain I implore the favor of the most respectable Congress answer. I have the honour to remain with great respect,

“GENTLEMEN,

“Your most obedt humble Servant

“JOHN NORDBERG.

“NEW YORK, decembr 1775.”

Gathering up now the scattering historical threads, we find that Col. Romans secured the assistance of some sixteen men to go with him to Fort George. We find from the Pitcher account, as written to Gov. Tilden, that a body of men commanded by Captain Pitcher and Lieut. Samuel Parks ⁽¹¹⁾ were employed in the capture of that station. We find that Capt. Nordberg gives the credit to Col. Romans, to whom he surrendered. We find that Nordberg was living "as a hermit" in a little cottage at the fort. There must have been other buildings there for the care-takers also. Also some stores and materials of war. Under direction from Col. Romans these were doubtless locked up. This would be done by a responsible military subordinate. Therefore Lieut. Parks was undoubtedly detailed and ordered to make things secure; he may have even kept the keys, as Col. Romans immediately set off for Ticonderoga, where he was associated with Arnold a few days later. And so the pieces of the puzzle fit together, and the problem which racked the brains of Dr. DeCosta of who took "Fort George" is solved.

Starting with the intention of adding a few names to Secretary Bascom's article, this Ticonderoga matter has grown to a formidable size. If, however, the writer has been able to throw even an atom of new light on one of the most written about, possibly best known, and yet most wonderfully exaggerated incidents of the Revolution, he will feel he has not spent his strength in vain, nor wasted his time on details of little interest to the average reader of history.

Note No. 11.—Either a misprint, or misrecollection, there having been no "Samuel" then, so far as any authorities show.

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THE LIBRARY OF THE ASSOCIATION.

By JAMES A. HOLDEN, Acting Librarian.

To The Members of the Association:—

One of the most important functions for which this Association was originally formed, was the collection and preservation of Americana, and the securing and putting in print of manuscripts relating more especially to the history of the present Empire State.

After the death of the lamented Robert O. Bascom for so many years the efficient, reliable and competent Secretary of this Association, we were exceedingly fortunate in securing such a capable successor as our present Secretary, Frederick B. Richards. One of his first duties was the transfer of the property of the Association, which included the library and publication of the Association, to Glens Falls. Just previous to Mr. Bascom's death, he had changed his office, so that the library and the publications of the Association were in disorder, and unarranged, but through the kind offices of Wyman S. Bascom, son of the late Secretary, they were promptly turned over in good condition to the Secretary. Upon the assumption of office of Mr. Richards, he requested the Treasurer to act as Librarian, until such an officer could be duly elected by the trustees. It goes without saying that Secretary Bascom undoubtedly had a catalogue of some sort, of the books, in the Association Library but as this could not be found it was deemed best to prepare the temporary one accompanying this report. The books have all been arranged in as good order as possible, under the circumstances, and they are now accessible to such members of the Association as may have need of them. Since taking over the office of Acting Librarian your Treasurer has made an investigation of our library, and the character of some of the libraries of the leading historical societies in this state and elsewhere, which reveals great defects in our own. For instance the New York Historical Society, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, the New Haven Colony Historical Society, make considerable of their valuable collection of books, some of which are of the greatest aid to the historian. There is no reason why this Association, under its present amplified and revised charter, making it an Association whose interests really cover the whole state, should not have one of the best libraries in the country. At present it is practically a collection of junk. Its most crying needs may thus be specified:

First—The library of this Association should contain the publications of every Historical Society in the State.

Second—The publications of every Historical Society in the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont and Pennsylvania, all of whose history is more closely connected and identified with that of New York State than the states further west or south, should be in our possession.

Third—It should have a full set of the publications of the State of New York, which in any way relate to its active history. This must however exclude for the present, at least, until we have a library building of our own, the reports of all bureaus which, as above stated, do not have actually to do with purely and simply historical matters. It should include however such reports as in the opinion of the Secretary and Librarian, might be of ultimate use to some Historian.

Fourth—The Association should have from each one of its members, who have ever published books relating to history or allied topics, a copy of their publications. Your librarian would suggest in this connection, that many valuable monographs or historic articles published in newspapers by members of the Association, or by other persons, which have been preserved by members of the Association, should be placed in the possession of the Association, either for publication in a more permanent form, or for reference. Some of the most valuable historical matter pertaining to the history of this state has been irretrievably lost, because published in unpreserved newspapers, and also owing to the fact there was no interested historical association to preserve the same. A well compiled and carefully dated scrap book containing articles of local history as well as matters pertaining to the history of the state, is one of the most valuable assets which a local or state historical society can possibly have.

Fifth—The members of the Association can also materially help the library of the Association by turning over to the Society such duplicates of historic transactions or books pertaining to the State of New York, as they may have in their possession. Also any monographs, essays, addresses, old sermons, old almanacs or such material as may be at present time lumbering up their dens, studies or attics and which at house-cleaning time are always in the way. This material if sent to the Association, will be properly arranged, with the proviso however, that any duplicates may be traded off or sold for other sets and books which the library may need.

Sixth—In these days of seeking for original sources it is absolutely necessary to have manuscripts, old diaries, current record books, minute books or similar items, and for that purpose the Association would be delighted to receive from its members, any manuscripts or diaries re-

lating to the Colonial or Revolutionary period, or that period of history which has not as yet received its due and proper attention from historians of the State of New York, and which lies between 1820 and 1840, and to not so great an extent between 1840 and 1860. In this period of our history, there is a vast field, social, political and economic, well worthy of cultivation by some painstaking and thorough-going historian. In nearly all the prominent societies there is an Endowment Fund, from whose income can be purchased rare and otherwise unobtainable items of Americana. At the present time, this of course is out of the question with us. We must therefore depend on the good nature, generosity and kindness of our members to see that we are supplied with a beginning of what we hope to make the most important collection of works bearing on New York State which has ever been gathered together.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. HOLDEN,

Treasurer and Acting Librarian.

Glens Falls, N. Y., Jan. 1, 1910.

INSIGNIA OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Insignia of the Association consists of a badge, the pendant of which is circular in form, one and three-sixteenths inches in diameter.

Obverse: In the center is represented the discovery of the Hudson River; the "Half-Moon" is surrounded by Indian Canoes, and in the distance is shown the Palisades. At the top is the coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam and a tomahawk, arrow and Dutch sword. At the bottom is shown the seal of New York State. Upon a ribbon, surrounding the center medallion, is the legend: New York State Historical Association, and the dates 1609 and 1899; the former being the date of the discovery of New York, and the latter the date of the founding of the Historical Association.

Reverse: The Seal of the Association.

The badges are made of 14k gold, sterling silver and bronze, and will be sold to members of the Association at the following prices:

14k Gold, complete with bar and ribbon.....	\$11.00
Sterling Silver, complete with bar and ribbon.....	5.00
Bronze, complete with bar and ribbon.....	4.00

Application for badges should be made to the Secretary of the Association, Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls, N. Y., who will issue permit, authorizing the member to make the purchase from the official Jewelers, J. E. Caldwell & Co., 902 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

James A. Roberts,	Buffalo.
Timothy L. Woodruff,	Brooklyn.
Daniel C. Farr,	Glens Falls.
Everett R. Sawyer,	Sandy Hill.
James A. Holden,	Glens Falls.
Robert O. Bascom,	Fort Edward.
Morris Patterson Ferris,	Dobbs Ferry.
Elwyn Seelye,	Lake George.
Grenville M. Ingalsbe,	Sandy Hill.
Frederick B. Richards,	Ticonderoga.
Anson Judd Upson,	Glens Falls.
Asahel R. Wing,	Fort Edward.
William O. Stearns	Glens Falls.
Robert C. Alexander,	New York.
Elmer J. West,	Glens Falls.
Hugh Hastings,	Albany.
Pliny T. Sexton,	Palmyra.
William S. Ostrander,	Schuylerville.
Sherman Williams,	Glens Falls.
William L. Stone,	Mt. Vernon.
Henry E. Tremain,	New York.
William H. Tippetts,	Lake George.
John Boulton Simpson,	Bolton.
Harry W. Watrous,	Hague.
Abraham B. Valentine,	New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First: To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second: To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third: To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the state of New York and to establish a museum therein for their preservation.

Fourth: To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth: To acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at the City of Albany, New York.

The number of directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association.

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.

Members

Section 1. Members shall be of four classes—Active, Associate, Corresponding and Honorary. Active and Associate members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside the state of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

Section 5. Persons who shall have given to the Association donations of money, time, labor, books, documents, MSS. collections of antiquities, art or archaeology of a value equivalent in the judgment of the trustees to a life membership may be made Associate members.

ARTICLE IV.

Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by the Board of Trustees to be elected by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose terms then expire.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall

hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators* to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to active membership between January and July of any year, shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum for his or her annual dues. Any person elected to membership* subsequent to July 1st, and who shall pay into the treasury two dollars, shall be exempt from dues until January 1st of the year next succeeding his or her consummation of membership.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and vested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Associate, Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold Perpetual Membership shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

Section 7. Historical Societies, Educational institutions of all kinds, libraries, learned societies, patriotic societies, or any incorporated or unincorporated association for the advancement of learning and intellectual welfare of mankind, shall be considered a "person" under Section 2 of this article.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the readings of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Seal

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. William Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

ARTICLE IX.

Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The board of trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meeting of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association of the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE IV.

Vice Presidents.

The Vice Presidents shall be denominated First, Second and Third Vice Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice President.

ARTICLE V.

Treasurer.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

Secretary.

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes, of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.

Executive Committee.

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.

Procedure

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the

Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association.

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and acting thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fails for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

MEMBERS NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Adams, Charles Francis, LL. D.	23 Court St., Boston, Mass.
Beauchamp, Rev. William Mar-	
tin, S. T. D.	121 Mark Ave., Syracuse.
Gilman, Daniel Coit, LL. D.,	Pres. Carnegie Institute, Washing-
A. M.	ton, D. C.
Hadley, Arthur Twining, LL. D.	Pres. Yale University, New
	Haven, Conn.
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, LL. D.,	"The Outlook," 287 Fourth Ave.,
Ph. D.	New York.
Wilson, Woodrow, LL. D., Ph.	Pres. Princeton University, Prince-
D., Litt. D.	ton, N. J.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Fernow, Berthold	Trenton, N. J.
McMaster, John Bach, A. M.,	University of Pennsylvania, Phila-
Ph. D., Litt. D.	delphia, Pa.
Smith, Goldwin, D. C. L., LL. D.	Toronto, Ontario, Can.
Wheeler, Arthur Martin, LL. D.,	Yale University, New Haven,
M. A.	Conn.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Crandall, Henry	Glens Falls.
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LIFE MEMBERS.

Barnhart, John Hendley, A. M.,	N. Y. Botanical Garden, Bronx
M. D.	Park.
Bixby, W. K.	Bolton.

Field, Cortlandt de Peyster	Peekskill.
Fulton, Louis M.	31 Nassau St., New York.
Hand, Hon. Richard L., LL. D.	Elizabethtown.
Hanna, Charles A.	Room 174, U. S. Custom House, New York.
Hartley, Mrs. Frances G.	232 Madison Ave., New York.
Howland, Fred D.	Hudson Falls.
Jones, Mrs. Oliver Livingston	116 W. 72nd St., New York.
Planten, John R.	44 Eight Ave., Brooklyn.
Potts, Charles Edwin	170 Rugby Road, Brooklyn.
See, Mrs. Horace	50 W. 9th St., New York.
Stillman, Charles Chauncey	9 E. 67th St., New York.
Tremain, Gen. Henry Edwin	37 Madison Ave., New York.
Webb, Dr. W. Seward	51 E. 44th St., New York.
Witherbee, Hon. Frank S.	Port Henry.

MEMBERS.

Abbott, James	79 Ashburton Ave., Yonkers.
Abbott, Rev. Lyman, D. D., LL. D.	"The Outlook," 287 Fourth Ave., New York City.
Abercrombie, David T.	197 Ballantine Parkway, Newark, N. J.
Abrahams, Abraham	420 Fulton St., Brooklyn.
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OF THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FROM THE
INCORPORATION OF THE ASSOCIATION TO 1910.

Prepared by the Secretary

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Report of Secretary, Morris Patterson Ferris; Introductory address, by Hon. James A. Roberts; "King Hendrick," by Col. William L. Stone; "Sir William Johnson," by Hon. Hugh Hastings; "Col. Ephriam Williams," by James Austin Holden, A. B.; "Battle of Lake George and Baron Dieskau, 1755," by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth; "Major-General Phinehas Lyman," by Rev. William O. Stearns; "A Century of Struggle for the Rights of Man," by Prof. John Bach McMaster, Litt. D.

Vol. II.—Meeting held at Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, July 30, 1901.

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Vol. III.—Meeting held at Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, July 29, 1902.

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Ingalsbe, A. M., LL. B.; "Some 'Ifs' in the Burgoyne Campaign," by Francis W. Halsey; "The Baroness de Riedesel," by Mrs. Donald McLean; "Where We Got Our Government—The Foundation of American Institutions," by George Cary Eggleston; "Memorial of Anson Judd Upson, July, 1902," by Dr. Daniel C. Farr; "In Memoriam," Dr. Edward Eggleston.

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Vol. VI. Meeting held at the Court House, Lake George, Aug. 22, 1905.

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FOOTPRINTS OF THE RED MEN INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

In the Valley of Hudson's River, The Valley of the Mohawk, And on the Delaware.

Their Location and the Probable Meaning of Some of Them.

By E. M. RUTTENBER,

Author of "History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River"

"Indian place-names are not proper names, that is unmeaning words, but significant appellatives each conveying a description of the locality to which it belongs." (Trumbull).

Vol. VII.—Meeting held at Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, Aug. 21 and 22, 1906.

Report of Secretary, Robert O. Bascom; "Fort Niagara as the Base of the Indian and Tory Operations," by J. M. Thompson, Ph. B.; "Joseph Brant and His Raids," by William L. Stone; "The Raids in Tryon County," by S. L. Fr  y; "Schoharie in the Border Warfare of the Revolution," by Alfred W. Abrams, Ph. B.; "Minisink," by Theodore D. Schoonmaker; "The Story of Cherry Valley," by Henry U. Swinnerton, Ph. D.; "Irish Colonists in New York," by M. J. O'Brien; President's Address, by Hon. James A. Roberts.

Vol. VIII.—Meeting held at the rooms of the Historical Society of Buffalo, Sept. 17 and 18, 1907.

Secretary's Report, Robert O. Bascom; "General Van Rensselaer and the Niagara Frontier," by Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S.; "Perry and His Victory," by George L. Hawkins, A. M. D. Sc.; "General Brown at Chippewa, July 5, 1814," by Frank H. Severance, Secretary Buffalo Historical Society; "The Siege of Fort Erie," by L. L. Babcock; "General Scott at Lundy's Lane," by George Douglass Emerson; "The Military Career and Character of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock," by Lt. Col. Ernest Cruikshank; "The Causes and Results of the Failure of the American Campaigns on the Niagara in the Second War with

England," by Irvin W. Near; "Aboriginal Stone Implements of Queensbury," by Rev. O. C. Auringer; President's Address, by Hon. James A. Roberts; "New York's Obligations to Her History," by Andrew S. Draper, LL. D.; "Col. George S. Benedict, A. M., L. H. D.," by J. E. Goodrich, D. D.; "Dr. C. Ellis Stevens," by James A. Holden; "Edward Manning Ruttenber," by William Wait.

Part II.—Meeting held in the Assembly Hall of the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society, Albany, Oct. 12, 13 and 14, 1908.

Secretary's Report, Robert O. Bascom; Address of Welcome, Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth; President's Address, by Hon. James A. Roberts; "A State Historical Museum," by Dr. John M. Clark, Director New York State Museum, Albany; "The Iroquois Wampums," by Arthur C. Parker; "The Function of State Historian of New York," by Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian; "The Patroon System and the Colony of Rensselaerwyck," by A. J. F. Van Laer, Archivist of N. Y. State Library; "Closing Phases of the Manorial System in Albany," by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, LL. D.; "Home Life in the Colonial Days in Albany," by Joseph A. Lawson; "Early Colonial Charters in Albany," by Frank B. Gilbert; "The First Railroad in New York State," by Henry L. Taylor, Ph. D.; In Memoriam Dr. Truman J. Backus, General George S. Batcheller, Charles Makepeace Doolittle, James Henry Durkee, D. Willis James, Morris Ketchum Jesup, Reuben N. Peck, Benjamin Franklin Stevens, Col. William Leete Stone, Diedrich Willers. Report of the Committee upon the Establishment of Closer Relations Between the Historical Societies of the State.

NOTE.—A limited number of partial sets of the Historical Association Reports are still on hand. Prices on application. Vol. 5, however, with Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, published 1905, is entirely out of print. Any members having duplicate copies of the issue, are asked to communicate with the Treasurer.

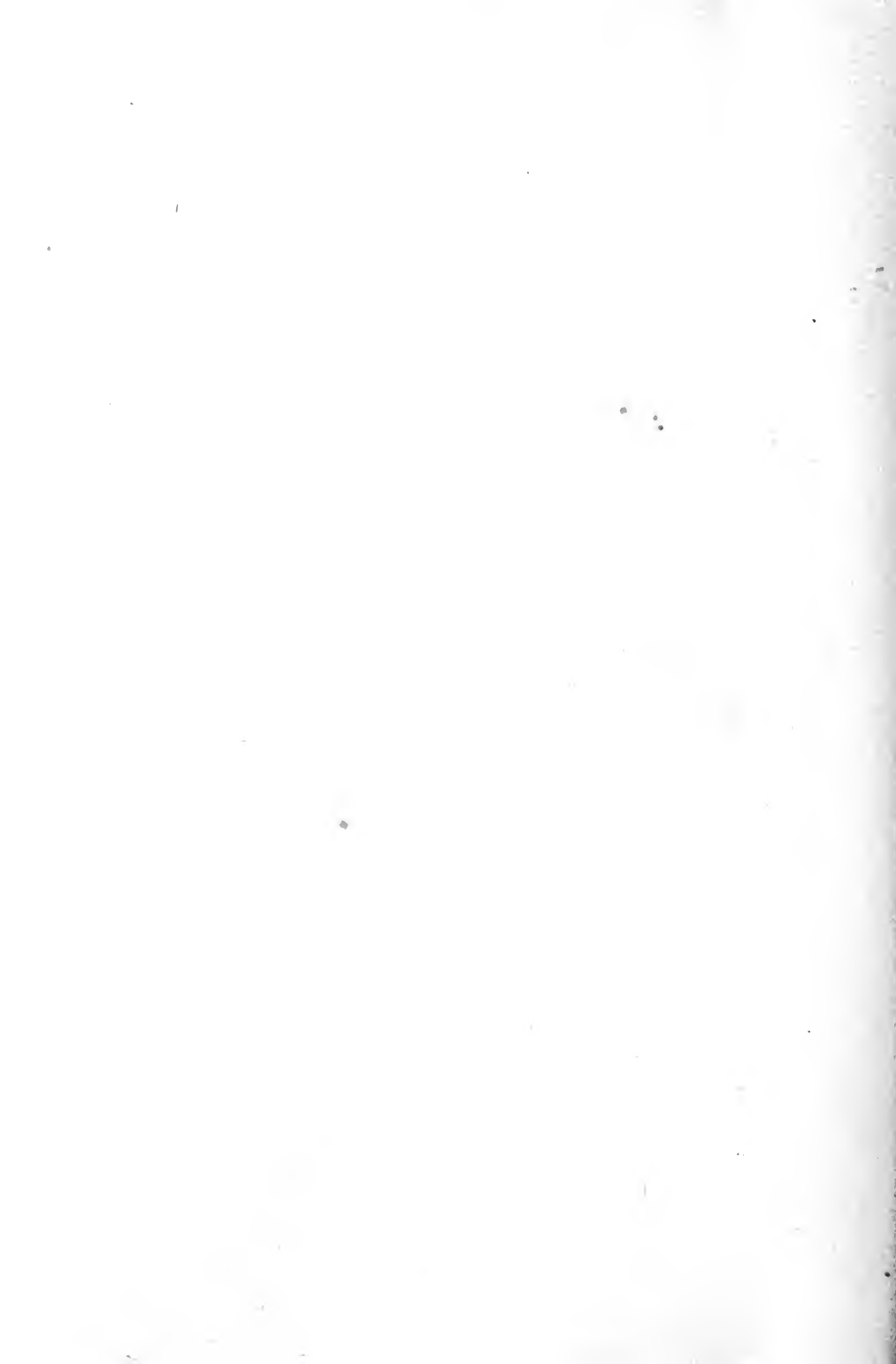
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